DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 464 494 FL 027 255

AUTHOR	Luke, Christopher. Ed.
TITLE	Selected Proceedings from the Texas Foreign Language Education Conference 2001.
INSTITUTION	Texas Univ., Austin. Foreign Language Education Program.
ISSN	ISSN-0898-8471
PUB DATE	2001-00-00
NOTE	180p.; Theme issue. Support provided by the Foreign Language Education Student Association. For individual articles, see FL 027 256-264.
AVAILABLE FROM	The Editor, Texas Papers in Foreign Language Education, Sanchez Building 528, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX 78712. Tel: 512-471-4078; Fax: 512-471-8460; e-mail: TexFLEC@ccwf.cc.utexas.edu; Web site: http://www.utexas.edu/students/flesa/texflec.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - General (020) -- Collected Works - Serials (022) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
JOURNAL CIT	Texas Papers in Foreign Language Education; v6 n1 Fall 2001
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC08 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Academic Discourse; Computer Uses in Education; Consonants; Constructivism (Learning); Cultural Differences; Educational Theories; Elementary Secondary Education; English (Second Language); Foreign Countries; Graduate Study; Higher Education; Inquiry; Korean; Language Teachers; *Second Language Instruction; Student Attitudes; Student Motivation; Vowels; Whole Language Approach; Writing Skills
IDENTIFIERS	Discourse Markers; Japan; Lexical Collocation; Politeness; Taiwan; Task Sequence

ABSTRACT

This collection of papers includes: "Language Learning Motivation: The Student, the Teacher, and the Researcher" (Robert C. Gardner); "The Self-Reported Perspectives Regarding Academic Writing among Taiwanese Graduate Students Specializing in TEFL" (Robert Johanson); "Contradictions, Appropriation, and Transformation: An Activity Theory Approach to L2 Writing and Classroom Practices" (Charles P. Nelson, Mi-Kyung Kim); "Constructivist Inspiration: A Project-Based Model for L2 Learning in Virtual Worlds" (Rebekah Taveau and Marina Bolotin); "Inquiry Cycles in a Whole Language Foreign Language Class: Some Theoretical and Practical Insights" (David Schwarzer and Chris Luke); "Task-Sequencing in L2 Acquisition" (Rafael Salaberry); "Knowledge of English Collocations: An Analysis of Taiwanese EFL Learners" (Li-Szu Huang); "Vowel Quality and Consonant Voicing: The Production of English Vowels and Final Stops by Korean Speakers of English" (Mi-Lim Ryoo); "Functions of Discourse Markers in Japanese" (Yasuko Fujita); and "Cross Cultural Varieties of Politeness" (Junko Hondo and Bridget Goodman). (Individual papers contain references.) (SM)

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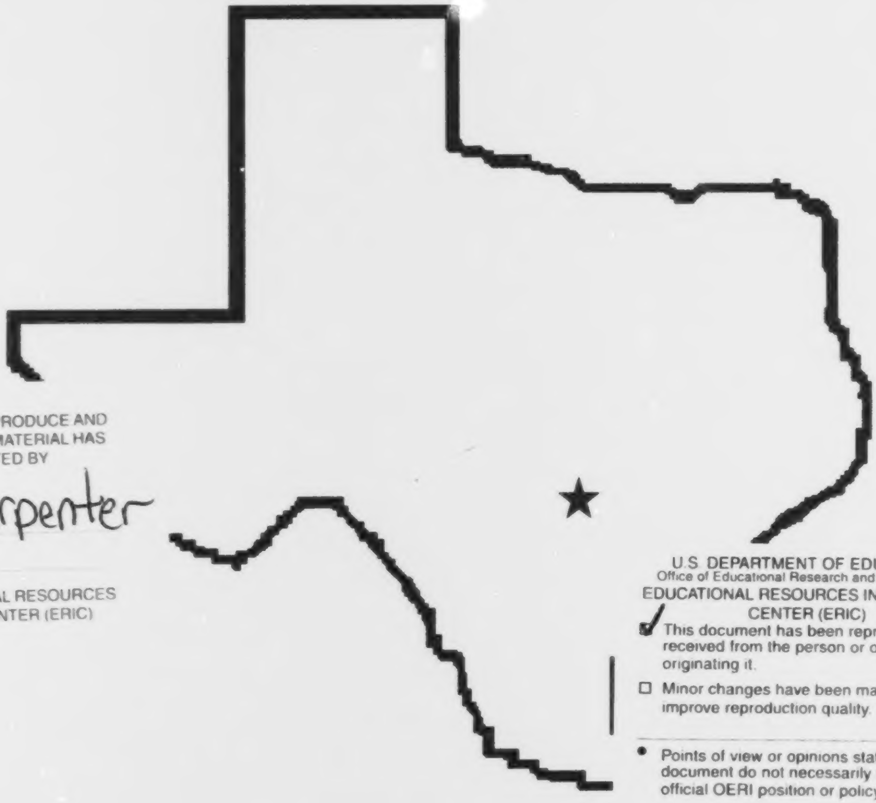
ED 464 494

ISSN # 0898-8471

Texas Papers in Foreign Language Education

Selected Proceedings From The Texas Foreign Language Education Conference 2001

Volume 6 *Number 1* *Fall 2001*



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Texas Papers in Foreign Language Education (TPFLE) is the journal of the Foreign Language Education Program of the University of Texas at Austin

The Editors and Advisory Board acknowledge the following organizations who, through their generosity, have made possible this issue of TPFLE:

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Language Learning Motivation: The Student, the Teacher, and the Researcher[1]

R. C. GARDNER, University of Western Ontario

The intent of this address is to discuss the roles of the student, the teacher and the language researcher in understanding the motivation to learn another language. In order to guide this discussion, attention is directed toward the socio-educational model of second language acquisition. Although this model considers the motivation to learn another language from the point of view of the student, it is clear that other contributors include the teacher as well as the student's and the teacher's backgrounds. The objective of the language researcher is to code the process and investigate it in ways that will help to more fully understand it.

One feature of the socio-educational model is the set of variables it has identified and the means of assessing them so that specific hypotheses about the nature and influence of motivation in second language learning can be evaluated. Some general observations about research findings that have been obtained are made, and attention is directed toward one study that considers the stability of motivational variables. The issue of motivational stability is currently of interest in the literature, and concerns the question of whether motivation is stable or fluid. Discussion of some of the findings from this study focus on the distinction between motivation and motivating, and on the implications this could have for the language teacher and the language researcher.

INTRODUCTION

There is considerable interest today in the notion of motivation to learn a second or foreign language, but it wasn't always this way. In 1956 when Wally Lambert and I began our research, it was generally agreed that learning another language involved intelligence and verbal ability. Concepts like attitudes, motivation and anxiety were not considered to be important at all. Today, much of this has changed, and one sometimes gets the impression that affective variables are considered to be the only important ones. It is clear, however, that learning a second language is a difficult time-consuming process, and I would not be at all surprised if it turned out that a number of variables, hitherto not considered important, are found to be implicated in learning a second language. To date, research has focussed on individual difference characteristics of the student such as attitudes and motivation, language anxiety, self-confidence, field independence, personality variables (e.g., need achievement, risk-taking, empathy and the like), intelligence, language aptitude, and language learning strategies, but other variables and other classes of variables might well be considered viable candidates.

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[1] Preparation of this manuscript was facilitated by a grant (410-99-0147) from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. I would like to express my appreciation to Anne-Marie Masgoret for her assistance with its preparation. This manuscript was the basis of the key-note address by the author to the Texas Foreign Language Education Conference, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Texas, March 23, 2001. E-mail address: gardner@uwo.ca Web page: http://publish.uwo.ca/~gardner/

In my research, I tend to focus on motivation because I believe that many of these other variables are dependent on motivation for their effects to be realized. Thus, for example, language learning strategies probably will not be used if the individual is not motivated to learn the language, and/or there is little or no reason to take risks using the language if there is little intention to learn it, etc. Thus, to me, motivation is a central element along with language aptitude in determining success in learning another language in the classroom setting.

When focussing attention on motivation in second language acquisition, I find it useful to consider it from three perspectives, that of the student, the teacher, and the researcher, and I find that often these three perspectives do not coincide. That is, what is motivational or motivating to the teacher may not be to the student, and what the researcher (or at least some researchers) consider as motivational may not be seen as such by either students or teachers.

Consider the Student

Probably the majority of students studying a foreign or second language in school are simply doing it because it is part of the curriculum. Some students may have dreams of becoming bilingual when they start introductory Spanish or French, etc., but they are likely to be the minority. Nonetheless, when students first enter the language class, they are often motivated by dreams of being able to speak the language in a few weeks. They are generally unaware of the demands that will be placed on them. Quite often, they are very excited about learning another language and begin the study with enthusiasm. This often doesn't last very long.

I was in Japan recently talking to a number of ESL teachers and researchers. There, English is introduced into the curriculum in grade 7, and many of the teachers made the observation that although the students are initially very enthusiastic about learning English, their enthusiasm wanes before the end of the first year. Some of the teachers felt that this could be due to an over-emphasis on grammar translation in the curriculum. Others felt that it could be due to the age of the children and opined that starting languages earlier and focussing on oral production would eliminate the problem. Others felt that it was due to the quiet nature of Japanese children who often find it embarrassing to speak the language. Still others felt that there were too few model speakers of English, and too few opportunities outside of the classroom to use it. And of course, all of these plus many more are likely responsible, both in Japan and elsewhere. From the point of view of the socio-educational model of second language acquisition that I will outline shortly, much of the difficulty arises because the language class is not like classes in many other school subjects, even if the students are not aware of this.

When students are learning a second language, they have a number of duties and responsibilities. First and foremost, they must pass the course. In addition, however, they must acquire language content (vocabulary, grammar and the like); they must acquire language skills (oral production, aural comprehension); they must develop some degree of automaticity and fluency with their handling of the language; and ultimately, they must develop some degree of willingness to use the language outside of the classroom. This is no small set of requirements.

Consider the Language Teacher

The language teacher also has a number of duties and responsibilities in the language learning context. To achieve their goals, language teachers must have knowledge and skill in the language. On the one hand, this requires that they be sufficiently proficient to have the knowledge and skill to teach the language, and students can quickly determine if the teacher lacks proficiency. On the other hand, the teacher must have the training, personality characteristics, and ability to teach the fundamentals of the language to the student but also to encourage them to learn the material, and more importantly to use it. Often too, teachers want the students to not simply use the language, but to use it correctly. This requires a lot of work and dedication on the part of both the teacher and the student, and is one of the many factors that account for the learning of a second language to be a difficult and time-consuming task. Add to this the frequently occurring phenomenon that there are few opportunities for the student to experience the language outside of the classroom, and the enormity of the problem for the teacher is put into perspective.

Consider the Researcher

The duties and responsibilities of the researcher are to understand and code the process of second language acquisition in order to develop ways of testing verifiable hypotheses about language learning. One objective of this is simply the need to develop a model of language learning such that it has the properties necessary to permit evaluation of the validity of the hypothesized process. A good model is one that is objective, is parsimonious, and is testable. That is, it must be possible to formulate hypotheses based on the model that can be investigated by the researcher concerned, as well as by others if they wish. The variables must be defined in such a way that studies can be replicated. It is only in this way that a scientific description of the process can be said to exist.

This was the objective in developing and validating the socio-educational model of second language acquisition. The model was developed in part because of observations made by students and teachers, but primarily from results of

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empirical investigations. Associated with the model are a set of measures of its primary variables, and these can be used to evaluate hypotheses that derive from the model. Today, I would like to describe this model in some detail, to show how hypotheses can be derived from it, and then to discuss one set of findings from a recent study that I feel is very relevant to the theme of this conference.

The model I am going to present today is one that evolved in part in reaction to criticisms that had been directed toward earlier versions of the model (Crookes & Schmidt, 1991), and in part as a result of my recent visit to Japan. It is a minor revision of earlier models, but I believe these revisions can help to overcome some of the problems that have been said to exist. The criticisms were that my model and my research focussed on relatively stable motivational attributes that were derived from social psychology, that they were not the same as those understood by educators, and that in fact I had ignored the teacher in my research and theorizing. My recent visit emphasized to me that teachers were very much concerned with the issue of motivation, and that they were looking for ideas that they could put to use. In one of my sessions, one woman asked me why I did the research I did, and when I hesitated to answer quickly, someone (in good natured fashion, I was assured later) commented that it was so I could obtain research funding.

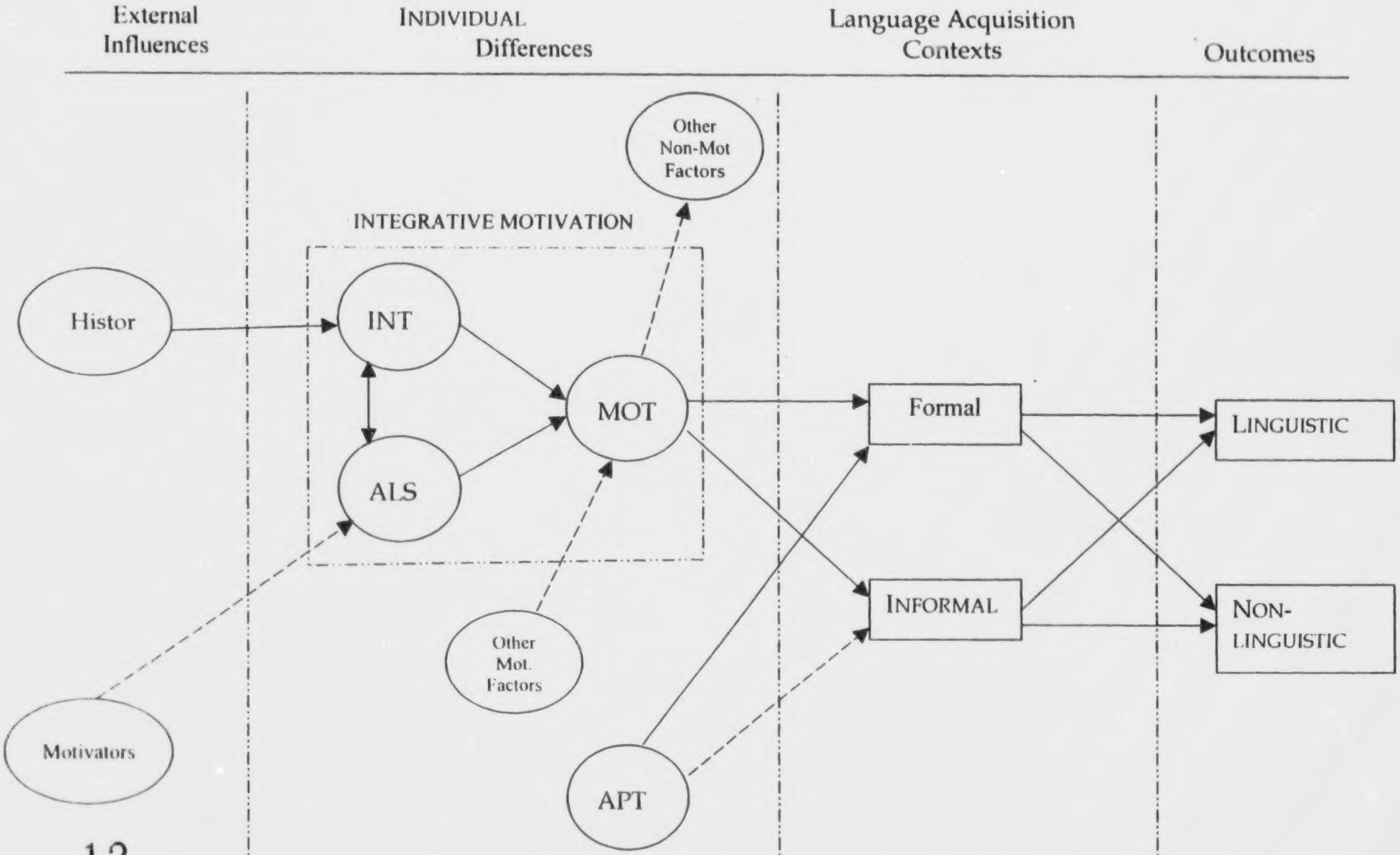
In fact, I hesitated because I was startled by the question because the answer was so obvious to me! The research area is a fascinating one, that is plagued with conceptual and logistical difficulties, and is thus a challenge. I always felt that our research had implications for both students and teachers, but she was looking for specific remedies to very real problems, and she apparently had bought into the criticism that our research was not practical. This version of the model is an attempt to make my interest in these very practical problems explicit, and hopefully outline research avenues that can be explored profitably.

THE SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL MODEL OF SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Figure 1 presents a schematic representation of this model. It is comprised of four sections, External Influences, Individual Differences, Language Acquisition Contexts, and Outcomes.

The category of External Influences replaces that of the Social Milieu in earlier versions, and is more general in its nature. By External Influences I mean any factors that might influence language learning. There are two classes of such influences indicated, History and Motivators. By history, I mean that complex of social and personal variables that the individual brings with him or her that can influence second language acquisition. Examples include the socio-cultural milieu in which the individual lives as well as the personal family background. School children learning English in Japan have a different cultural background than English speaking students learning Spanish in Texas, or French in Canada. There are different beliefs about the value and need for learning the language, what constitutes learning the language, expectations about possible success, and

Figure1: Revised Socio-Educational Model


External Influences
INDIVIDUAL Differences
Language Acquisition Contexts
Outcomes
Other Non-Mot Factors
INTEGRATIVE MOTIVATION
Histor
INT
MOT
ALS
Formal
INFORMAL
LINGUISTIC
NON-LINGUISTIC
Other Mot. Factors
Motivators
APT

even the ease or difficulty with which it can be done. Furthermore, within any given socio-cultural milieu, there will be differences in individuals' personal backgrounds and histories that could also play a role. The student from a bilingual home has a different history associated with language learning than that of the student from a mono-lingual English speaking home. Children from homes who value language learning have a different history than those from homes where it is not valued, etc.

This aspect of External Influences is generally not considered by other models of second language acquisition, with the exception of Clément's (1980) social context model, or by models of academic motivation. In the socio-educational model, these past experiences and family and cultural background are considered important to learning a second language, because it is assumed that learning another language is different from much other learning that takes place in school. In learning another language, the student is required to incorporate speech sounds, grammatical structures, behaviour patterns, and the like that are characteristic of another culture, and this is not true of most other school subjects. Other subjects like arithmetic, history, geography, music, etc., are generally all part of the student's culture, or cultural perspective at least, so that acquiring this material does not involve any personal conflict. But learning another language involves making something foreign a part of one's self. As such, one's conception of the "self" and their willingness to open it up to change, as well as their attitudes toward the other community, or out-groups in general, will influence how well they can make this material part of their behavioural repertoires.

Those models that emphasize an approach to motivation that focuses on the academic aspects of the language course, or that consider motivation simply in terms of rational decisions, fail to take this into account. We propose that learning a second language involves taking on the behavioural characteristics of another cultural group of people, and that this has implications for the individual. We have evidence, I believe, to suggest that this early history plays its primary role through the concept of Integrativeness (INT), which will be discussed shortly.

The other External Influence that we propose is that of Motivators. Currently, there is the belief that one can distinguish between motivation and motivating (cf., Dörnyei, 1994; 2001) . Thus, it is proposed that teachers can help the language learning process by motivating their students. There is some evidence to indicate that this concept applies to other school subjects (see, for example Dweck, 1986), but it is not clear that it has yet been demonstrated with respect to language learning. Dörnyei (2001, p. 119) presents a set of four principles that he considers important in this conception of motivation. They are:

1. Creating the basic motivational conditions.
2. Generating student motivation
3. Maintaining and protecting motivation

4. Encouraging positive self-evaluation.

But, as he himself states "none of the four pedagogically motivated constructs ... has considerable empirical support within L2 contexts" (p. 107).

In the model, these motivators are shown to have a direct effect on Attitudes toward the Learning Situation (ALS), which will be discussed below. We have some evidence to suggest that teacher variables can have an effect on Attitudes toward the Learning Situation, and it is proposed that these reflect differences in techniques used by teachers to motivate their students.

As indicated above, these two classes of background variables are seen as having an effect on Integrativeness (INT) and Attitudes toward the Learning Situation (ALS) respectively. These are just two of six classes of individual difference variables that are hypothesized to play a role in second language learning. Under the category of **Individual Differences**, the two variables, Integrativeness, and Attitudes toward the learning Situation are shown as having a direct effect on another variable, Motivation (MOT).

The variable, **Integrativeness,** reflects a genuine interest in learning the second language in order to come closer psychologically to the other language community. A low level of integrativeness would indicate no interest in learning the language in order to identify with the group, while a high level would indicate considerable interest. Often before an individual has had the opportunity to learn anything about the language, or when the student is young, this reflects merely an interest or a willingness. In the extreme, however, it can indicate complete identification with the other group. A few days before I left Japan (February 26), there was a letter to the editor printed in the Japanese Times. The letter had nothing to do with language learning, but it is a clear example of the highest level of integrativeness that can be expressed by an individual. In the letter, the author wrote:

> I am Japanese. This is not a reference to my nationality, for I hold a passport issued by authorities in a country other than Japan. Rather, what I mean is that I am Japanese at the "sub-conscious level.
>
> I have lived in Japan for nearly six years. I use the Japanese language in my job, I pay Japanese taxes and I read Japanese newspapers and watch Japanese TV to get the latest information. I also have a Japanese car, which I legally drive with my Japanese driver's license when travelling to various places in Japan. When I bump into something I unconsciously say "itai!' So for all intensive (sic, intents and) purposes, I am Japanese.

This would be an example of an extreme form of integrativeness, and obviously it is not proposed that this is required for successful second language acquisition. The willingness to open up to other cultural influences is the operative component. That is, integrativeness involves emotional identification with another cultural group. In developing measures associated with the socio-educational model, we proposed that integrativeness would be reflected in an integrative orientation toward learning the second language, a favourable attitude toward the language community, and an openness to other groups in general (i.e., an absence of ethnocentrism). In short, the variable of Integrativeness is a complex of attitudes involving more than just the other language community.

The variable, **Attitudes toward the Learning Situation**, involves attitudes toward any aspect of the situation in which the language is learned. In the school context, these attitudes could be directed toward the teacher, the course in general, one's classmates, the course materials, extra-curricular activities associated with the course, etc... This is not meant to imply that the individual necessarily thinks everything about the class is ideal. If the language teacher is ineffective or non-responsive, or, if the course is particularly dull or confused, etc., these factors will undoubtedly be reflected in the individual's attitudes toward the learning situation. In the model it is recognized that, in any situation, some individuals will express more positive attitudes than others, and it is these differences in attitudes toward the learning situation that are the focus of the model. Clearly, however, there might well be differences between classes in such attitudes, and these could have an overall average effect on all students. To now, much of the research deriving from the socio-educational model of second language acquisition has not considered these types of effects. We have recently, however, taken steps to change this.

The variable, **Motivation**, refers to the driving force in any situation. In the socio-educational model, motivation to learn the second language is viewed as requiring three elements. **First**, the motivated individual **expends effort** to learn the language. That is, there is a persistent and consistent attempt to learn the material by doing homework, by seeking out opportunities to learn more, by doing extra work, etc. **Second**, the motivated individual **wants** to achieve the goal. Such an individual will express the desire to succeed, and will strive to achieve success. **Third**, the motivated individual will **enjoy** the task of learning the language. Such an individual will say that it is fun, a challenge, and enjoyable, even though at times enthusiasm may be less than at other times.

In the socio-educational model, all three elements, effort, desire, and positive affect, are seen as necessary to distinguish between individuals who are more motivated and those who are less motivated. Each element, by itself, is seen as insufficient to reflect motivation. Some students may display effort, even though they have no strong desire to succeed, and may not find the experience particularly enjoyable. Others may want to learn the language, but may have other things that detract from their effort, etc. The point is the truly motivated individual displays effort, desire, and affect.

Motivation is a complex concept, and the motivated individual exhibits many other qualities in addition to effort, desire, and affect. Motivated individuals have goals, both proximate and distal. They experience satisfaction when they are successful and dissatisfaction when they are not. They make attributions about their successes and failures, etc. That is, the motivated individual displays many characteristics, but we have found that by operationally defining motivation in terms of effort, desire, and attitude, we can adequately distinguish differing levels of motivation.

The figure also shows that the three classes of variables, Integrativeness, Attitudes toward the Learning Situation, and Motivation form "**Integrative Motivation**". Integrative motivation is hypothesized to be a complex of attitudinal, goal-directed, and motivational attributes. That is, the integratively motivated individual is one who is motivated to learn the second language, has a desire or willingness to identify with the other language community, and tends to evaluate the learning situation positively. In the model, Integrativeness and Attitudes toward the Learning Situation are seen as two correlated supports for motivation, but it is motivation that is responsible for achievement in the second language. Someone may demonstrate high levels of Integrativeness and/or very positive Attitudes toward the Learning Situation, but if these are not linked with motivation to learn the language, they will not be particularly highly related to achievement. Similarly, someone who exhibits high levels of motivation that are not supported by high levels of Integrativeness and/or favourable Attitudes toward the Learning Situation may not exhibit these high levels of motivation consistently.

Motivation (MOT) and Language Aptitude (APT) are shown as two variables that can have effects in both formal and informal contexts. Formal learning contexts refer to any situation in which language instruction takes place, as for example the typical language classroom, the language laboratory, language computer laboratories, etc. Both Motivation and Language Aptitude are shown to have direct effects in this type of context as indicated by the solid arrows. That is, language aptitude and motivation will each influence how successful the individual is in learning the language in formal contexts.

Informal learning contexts refer to any other setting where the individual might learn language material. Examples of these would include written material, radio and television broadcasts, movies, language clubs, etc., where the individual can experience the language in a context other than one focussing on instruction. Motivation is shown as having a direct influence on this context (as indicated by the solid arrow) because it is expected that differences in motivation would play a major role in influencing whether or not an individual would even enter the situation. Once there, language aptitude would play a role in how much the individual would profit from the experience, but it is shown as having an indirect effect (as indicated by the broken arrow), because it would not come into play until the individual had actually entered the situation.

Both formal and informal language learning contexts are shown as having both linguistic and non-linguistic outcomes. Linguistic outcomes refer to various aspects of proficiency in the language (i.e., vocabulary, grammar, aural comprehension, oral production and the like). Non-linguistic outcomes refer to those other consequences of language learning such as language anxiety, various attitudes, motivation, willingness to make use of the language, etc. Thus, as can be seen, differences in motivation and language aptitude interact with the language learning contexts to produce many consequences.

The model also shows two other variables that are hypothesized not to relate directly to the Learning Contexts. One is identified as Other Motivational Factors, and is shown as having a possible effect (through the broken arrow) on Motivation. Thus, there may be instrumental factors contributing to motivation (cf., Dörnyei, 1994; 2001), and we could label this combination of instrumental factors and motivation as Instrumental Motivation. Or, there may be other individual difference factors that could promote motivation. There is no reason to argue that motivation is driven only by integrativeness and attitudes toward the learning situation.

The second other variable is identified as Other Non-Motivational Factors. These would include variables such as Language Learning Strategies. The use of such strategies can influence achievement by providing schema and techniques to help learn the material, etc. To the extent that they play a role in language learning, it would be expected that they would be used by the motivated individual, hence the possible link between Motivation and the Other Non-Motivating Factors. They are not shown as being linked to Learning Contexts (though obviously they would be invoked by the user in such contexts), because whether or not the individual uses the strategies depends on the motivation, hence it is the motivation that links them to the Learning Contexts.

Any model is useful to the extent that it can be operationalized. That is, the variables must be defined by operations outside of the model. The socio-educational model of second language acquisition has an associated set of measures of these individual difference variables, the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB), and these are described in Table 1.

Table 1 Attributes Measured by the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery

Integrativeness. - an open interest in the other language group, and/or outgroups in general, a willingness to identify with the group. AMTB measures:

Attitudes toward French Canadians (10)
Integrative Orientation (4)
Interest in Foreign Languages (10)

Attitudes toward the Learning Situation. - evaluative reactions to the language learning context. AMTB measures:

Evaluation of the French Teacher (10)
Evaluation of the French Course (10)

Motivation. - effort expended, desire to learn, and favourable attitudes toward learning the language. AMTB measures:

- Motivational Intensity (10)
- Desire to Learn French (10)
- Attitudes toward Learning French (10)

Language Anxiety. - feelings of anxiety and concern in using the language in the classroom and other contexts.

- French Class Anxiety (10)
- French Use Anxiety (10)

Instrumental Orientation. - an interest in learning the second language for pragmatic reasons.

- Instrumental Orientation (4)

Table 1 presents a summary of the scales making up the AMTB, the number of items typically making up each scale, and the categories to which the scales belong. The variable names in the table apply to situations where English speaking Canadians are studying French as a second language, but generalization to other settings is relatively straightforward. This is not meant to suggest that the tests can just be used in any context. When developing items for paper-and-pencil tests, it is important that the items be meaningful to the respondents. It is quite likely that anyone using this battery of tests in some other context would have to adapt the items to take many factors into account. Examples are the cultural context, the language setting, the relationship between the home language group and the target language group, and the nature of the curriculum and the program, etc.

Earlier versions of this model have been used to generate hypotheses about the role of variables in second language acquisition, and many of them have been supported. Table 2 presents a brief summary of some findings that have been obtained relatively consistently, and in each case reference is made to a study obtaining such results.

Table 2 Some Findings Concerning Role of Motivation in Second Language Acquisition

Reference	Finding
Gardner & Smythe (1981)	Integrativeness, Attitudes toward the Learning Situation, and Motivation are separate but correlated constructs, and Motivation has a direct effect on second language achievement.
Clément, Smythe & Gardner (1978)	Differences in integrative motivation help to explain who will drop out and who will continue with language study in future years.

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Gliksman, Gardner, & Smythe (1982)	Differences in integrative motivation account for differences in activity in the language classroom.
Desrochers & Gardner (1981)	Differences in motivation are related to whether or not children will participate in school-planned excursions to the other language community.
Gardner & Lysynchuk (1990)	Motivation promotes the retention of second language skills after study ends, largely because motivated individuals will tend to use the language during the subsequent period.
Tremblay, Goldberg & Gardner (1985)	Levels of trait (i.e., long lasting) motivation to learn second languages influence levels of state (i.e., at the moment) motivation which in turn influence the rate of learning second-language vocabulary.
Gardner & MacIntyre (1991)	Both integrative and instrumental motivation influence the rate of learning second language vocabulary.

Time does not permit any discussion of these findings, but the table is provided as a reference to some research findings with respect to the role of attitudes and motivation in second language acquisition as viewed from the perspective of the socio-educational model. As can be seen in the table, the published findings indicate the nature of the correlations between the various attributes as well as many variables involved in second language learning. Studies have demonstrated the relation of motivation to language achievement, persistence in language study, activity in the classroom, participation in bicultural excursions, language retention, and the rate of vocabulary acquisition in controlled situations. Studies have also investigated the relation of integrative motivation to state motivation, and the relative effects of integrative vs. instrumental motivation.

One issue that earlier criticisms have raised is the nature of the attitudinal/motivational variables that underlie the model. It has been suggested that they are all rather stable, but to my knowledge very little, if any, research has evaluated this proposition. Based on social psychological theory, it may be expected that Attitudes toward French Canadians and by inference Interest in Foreign Languages and Integrative Orientation would be relatively stable because attitudes toward ethnic groups are fairly well fixed by the age of 10 to 12. But what of the measures of Attitudes toward the Learning Situation (i.e., Evaluation of the Teacher and the Course). Surely, they should be amenable to change since they involve affective reactions to environmental elements, which themselves can change. The measures of Motivation (Motivational Intensity, Desire to Learn French, and Attitudes toward Learning French), likewise could be expected to be malleable, if not completely free because of their link with Integrativeness. Similarly, Language Anxiety could be expected to be fairly free to change, particularly if it is influenced by the situation in which it is thought to occur rather than any predisposition to be anxious. Finally, Instrumental orientation might well be open to modification if external factors can be mounted to influence it. In short, except for Integrativeness which is assumed to be firmly linked to one's History, many of the elements of the socio-educational model might well be considered amenable to change under the right circumstances.

We recently completed a study to evaluate this hypothesis (Gardner, Masgoret, Tennant & Mihic, under review) by assessing the stability of these measures over the duration of a one year university course in introductory French. There was no attempt to change these attributes. Instead, the research question asked, "Are measures from the AMTB stable over time, and if so which are the most, and which are the least, stable?". In this investigation, we tested the students twice, once in September, just after classes began, and again in March, a few weeks before classes ended.

Based on the research literature, we assessed stability in terms of four different measures. The first two defined stability in terms of the relative consistency in individual differences in the two testings. One of these was simply the test/retest reliability for each measure, and the other was a stability index that involved this correlation adjusted for the internal consistency reliabilities of the tests at each testing. The other two indices measured amount of change. One of these was the average amount of absolute change (i.e., the RMS), while the other was the magnitude of the t-test comparing pre-test with post-test (i.e., a measure of change in a common direction). Table 3 presents a rank order of the scales in terms of these four Stability indices. The scales are listed in decreasing order of overall stability, defined simply as the sum of the ranks on the four indices.

Table 3 Rank Order of the Eleven AMTB Scales in Terms of Four Stability Indices
For a Sample of University Students in Introductory French
(1 = most stable, 11 = least stable)

Scale	Stability Index				Sum
	1	2	3	4	
Attitudes toward French Canadians	1	3	2	2	8
Interest in Foreign Languages	5	2	1	3	11
Instrumental Orientation	3	1	3	4	11
French Use Anxiety	2	4.5	4	1	11.5
Integrative Orientation	6	4.5	7	5	22.5

Desire to Learn French	8	8	5	7	28
French Class Anxiety	4	6	8	10	28
Attitudes toward Learning French	7	7	6	9	29
French Course Evaluation	9	10	10	8	37
Motivational Intensity	10	9	9	11	39
French Teacher Evaluation	11	11	11	6	39

It will be observed that there is a clear break in the sum of the ranks of the four Stability indices after French Use Anxiety. That is, the most stable measures were Attitudes toward French Canadians, Interest in Foreign Languages, Instrumental Orientation and French Use Anxiety. The measure of Integrative Orientation is the next most stable, and somewhat more so than all the remaining measures, so it is interesting that both Integrative and Instrumental Orientations tend to be relatively stable. It may well be that the major distinction between the two orientations is an interest in learning the language for reasons involving identification with the other group (Integrative) or not (Instrumental), and these basic orientations are established relatively early in one's development, being largely dependent on historical factors.

The findings with respect to the measures of Integrativeness (Attitudes toward French Canadians, Interest in Foreign Languages, and Integrative Orientation) were expected, but the finding that French Use Anxiety is also relatively stable opens the possibility that it too will be relatively resistant to change. The finding that the measures of Attitudes toward the Learning Situation and Motivation are relatively flexible was expected but it is heartening to see that this was the case. This means that it is possible that interventions could influence both attitudes toward the learning situation and motivation levels, which could have implications for subsequent language achievement. It is also instructive that French Class Anxiety is relatively changeable, so that it could be possible to develop approaches to modify it as well.

These results indicating that some affective variables are capable of change does not, of course, demonstrate that they can be changed in predictable ways, but it is a first step. Other results obtained in this study do indicate that meaningful changes do take place over the course of the year, even when there is no concerted attempt to modify affective variables. In preparing this talk, I conducted a re-analysis of some of the data from that study. This involved a profile analysis (see, for example, Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001, Chapter 10) of the measures assessed by the AMTB at the beginning and end of the course. Profile analysis is a procedure to determine if the pattern of means of different groups varies over a set of variables measured on the same scale. As used here, the technique examines the patterns of three groups across five variables and two time periods to see if the patterns change from the beginning to the end of the year.

Before performing the profile analysis, I standardized the data for each variable so that over the entire sample, each variable had a mean of 0, and a standard deviation of 1.0 for each testing. I felt that this was necessary to eliminate any effects due to regression toward the mean that often results when research participants are tested on the same variables twice. Next, I formed scores for each of the major attributes assessed by the AMTB (Integrativeness, Attitudes Toward the Learning Situation, Motivation, Language Anxiety, and Instrumental Orientation) by computing the mean standard score for the scales comprising each attribute. Next, I classified the students in terms of their final grades in the course, and formed three groups of students - - those with A grades, those with B grades, and those with less than B grades. I then performed a three factor profile analysis with the factors being Groups (3), Attributes (5) and Time of Testing (2).

The analysis revealed a significant three way interaction indicating that the pattern of means for the three groups on the five attributes differed in the two testing times. For the first testing (in the fall) there was not too much variation among the three groups of students on the five attributes, but the variation that was observed was very meaningful. In general, those students with less than B grades tended to have lower scores on motivation, attitudes toward the learning situation, and instrumental orientation, and higher scores on language anxiety, while the students with A and B grades showed the opposite pattern. Moreover, there were very slight differences between these two groups of students in the first testing. Moreover, the three groups had very similar mean scores on integrativeness.

For the second testing (in the spring), the profiles for the three groups were much more separated. The students who obtained less than B grades in the course had appreciably lower mean scores on the measures or motivation and attitudes toward the learning situation, and appreciably higher mean scores on language anxiety than they did in the first testing. Moreover, their scores were very different from the other two groups in the second testing. The A students, on the other hand, had higher scores on motivation and attitudes toward the learning situation, and lower scores on language anxiety, as well as slightly higher scores on integrativeness than they did in the first testing. Furthermore, their scores tended to be more extreme than those for the B students in the second testing than they were in the first one. Interestingly, the mean scores for the B students on the second testing were very similar to what they were on the first testing. They showed a slight decrease in integrativeness, but otherwise their means were very close to the mean (i.e., 0) on the other measures. The three groups were very similar and close to the mean on the measure of instrumental orientation.

The most informative picture, therefore, comes from comparing the pattern of the means in the fall testing with those in the spring testing. As noted, the profiles for the B students were very similar in both sessions indicating that relatively speaking they showed little change in any of these attributes over the course of the year. The profiles for the A and less than B students showed different patterns, however. The A students had relatively higher standard scores on measures of motivation, integrativeness, and attitudes toward the learning situation, and lower standard scores on language anxiety in the spring than they did in the fall, while the less than B students showed the opposite pattern. In short, the students who eventually did quite well in the class changed their attitudes and motivation in the positive direction, and their language anxiety in the negative direction, while those who did relatively poorly in the class changed in the opposite direction.

What could these results mean? Recall that the groups were formed based on their final grades. These grades were based on two midterm examinations, a final examination, written compositions, class quizzes, performance in both the language lab and a computer assisted language lab, as well as class attendance, so that throughout the year students gained information about their performance in the course. These students then who ultimately differed in their performance in the course demonstrated slight differences in predictable directions in motivation, attitudes toward the learning situation, language anxiety and instrumental orientation in the fall testing when the course had barely gotten underway. The differences between the A and the B students were minor, but those who ultimately obtained less than a B grade were clearly lower than the other groups in motivation, attitudes toward the learning situation, and instrumental orientation, and higher in language anxiety. Such characteristics would be expected to influence the students' performance early in the course, and in turn, their performance could be expected to influence these attributes. By the spring, the pattern is even more pronounced, and as we have seen, the A students developed relatively more positive attributes, while the less than B students developed less positive (in fact, relatively speaking negative) attributes, while the B students remained fairly neutral, showing very little change.

To me, these results can have very practical implications for the language teacher. First, as we found earlier, some of these attributes are more capable of change than others. That is, they are not "etched in stone". Changes can occur, but such changes generally will be within reasonable limits. The student who is highly motivated will not suddenly become amotivated, and the one who exhibits very little motivation will not suddenly become highly motivated. It is true that such "conversions" are possible, but they are highly unlikely. Situational factors can raise or lower motivation, but only within certain bounds. Most importantly, teachers can contribute to these changes.

Second, even something as simple as relative success or failure in the course is associated with changes in attitudes toward the learning situation, motivation, and language anxiety. One can argue about the causal links here, as to whether the different levels of attitudes, motivation and anxiety are responsible for the different grades, or whether the different grades are responsible for the differences in the affective attributes, or both. From a very practical point of view, however, is the observation that it is the A students and the less than B students who are changing predictably, and thus it is those students who could profit more from some attention to modifying or strengthening these affective attributes. It is instructive too, I believe, that the characteristics of Integrativeness are by far the most resistant to change at all levels of achievement, though even here there is a slight improvement for the most successful students. .

But consider these results in terms of the distinction between motivation and motivating. Each teacher in our study was presumably doing the best he/she could to teach the students, and to motivate them to learn and use the language. But, as we can see, changes took place that were not at all consistent for all students. The successful students did, in fact, change in the positive direction on most attributes, while the relatively unsuccessful ones changed in a negative direction, and the "average" students remained relatively unchanged. That is, regardless of the strategies used, changes were not all uniformly in the desired direction.

The title of this talk was "Language Learning Motivation: the Student, the Teacher, and the Researcher". In my presentation, I spent some time on the socio-educational model of second language acquisition because I believe it helps to organize the major concepts that appear to be involved in the motivation to learn a second language. It stresses that the major contributors to language learning motivation is first and foremost the student, and secondarily the student's background and other external factors such as the teacher. Since learning a second language involves making part of another cultural group part of one's self, it is unlike other school subjects. When attempting to motivate the student, therefore, teachers should consider this and look beyond techniques that are used with other subject matter. Such procedures might well be effective, but research is needed to evaluate their usefulness. And this is where the third partner comes into the picture. The researcher does not contribute to the success of the individual language learner, but he/she can hypothesize and investigate relationships among variables that might help the student and the teacher to achieve higher levels of success.

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The Self-Reported Perspectives Regarding Academic Writing among Taiwanese Graduate Students Specializing in TEFL

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This study explored how four Taiwanese graduate students (two Master's and two doctoral) specializing in Teaching English as a Second/Foreign Language at a U.S. university reported perceiving the academic writing tasks required of them for their coursework. Collected over the course of one semester (five months), data were derived from structured/semi-structured interviews with the respondents and reflective journals in which they were asked to record their writing experiences during the period of the study. Utilizing the grounded theory approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to data collection and analysis, the researcher detected four major themes emerging from the data: (a) Respondents reported that their previous English language training in Taiwan did not adequately prepare them for the writing tasks they encountered during their graduate studies in the U.S., (b) the Master's and doctoral students had markedly different perceptions of "academic writing" as opposed to other types of writing, (c) the respondents employed a variety of strategies to compose their academic writing projects, and (d) all of the respondents considered academic writing to be an anxiety-provoking event. Following a presentation of the findings, some of the pedagogical implications of the study are enumerated.

INTRODUCTION

> *"When I am stuck in the process of writing, I will pray, and God is an inspiration. It really works! Especially on the content. ... As for the composition and for the language level, I can do it by myself." [Shih-hua]*

As the enrollment figures for international graduate students in North American universities continue to increase, it is becoming increasingly important that the U.S. academy learn as much as possible about the challenges that these "world majority" (Fox, 1994) students face as they compose the writing tasks required of them. This is especially the case for international students in the social sciences, where the ability to express complex ideas in writing is often a bellwether of academic success (Schneider & Fujishima, 1995).

In recent years, researchers in the field of second language writing have investigated the writing experiences of international students of various nationalities as they compose papers for their coursework in the social sciences (e.g., Angelova & Riazantseva, 1999, *Indonesian, Russian,* and *Taiwanese;* Connor & Mayberry, 1996, *Finnish;* Jin, 1998, *Chinese;* Riazi, 1998, *Iranian;* Spack, 1997, *Japanese;* Yao, 1996, *Taiwanese*).

While these studies have yielded numerous beneficial results, none has focused primarily on a participant population consisting of graduate students enrolled in a TESL/TEFL program who plan to teach EFL after returning to their native countries. The present study, a pilot project conducted for the author's dissertation research, addresses this gap in the literature by investigating how a group of four Taiwanese graduate students (two doctoral and two Master's) reported to perceive their experiences writing for their studies in a U.S. Foreign Language Education program.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A review of the research performed on both first and second language (hereafter, L1 and L2) writing over the past three decades reveals distinct interpretations of writers' thinking and composing behaviors, as well as the relationships formed between writers and their intended audiences (Riazi, 1998). Prior to the 1970s, learning to write was largely seen as the accurate application of grammatical and rhetorical rules through habit formation. Following the paradigm shift that occurred after Emig's (1971) landmark study, The Composing Processes of Twelfth Graders, L1 writing researchers began focusing on the processes employed by writers as they composed texts rather than on the written product itself. Later known as the cognitivist (or "writing as problem solving") view, proponents of this perspective maintained that writing is a combination of higher order thinking skills in which writers first identify a problem and plan a writing task and then refine their thinking through specific stages of revising and editing (Flower, 1985, 1989).

During the 1980s, however, many L1 writing researchers came to question the findings of the cognitivists' research on the grounds that it failed to consider the role of the context in which writers compose texts. Heavily influenced by the work of Vygotsky (1962, 1978), who stressed the importance of the social context of language, and by Bakhtin's (1975) notion of the dialogic nature of language, these researchers contended that writing is not a cognitive process composed in a vacuum but rather involves a series of social communicative interactions between writers and their intended audiences (e.g., Nystrand, 1990; Nystrand, Greene & Wiemelt, 1993). Similarly, researchers such as Bartholomae (1988), Bruffee (1986), and Poole (1992), who later came to be known as proponents of the social constructionist school, posited that writers compose as members of discourse communities and that the rhetorical styles that dictate how meaning is conveyed in such communities are continuously co-constructed by their members.

Beginning in the late 1980s, increased attention was also being given to graduate programs as research sources for the study of L1 discipline-specific language learning. Berkenkotter, Huckin, and Ackerman (1988) chronicled the travails of a first year composition rhetoric graduate student (a native speaker) as he learned to strike a balance between his own writing style and the more formal style preferred by his instructors. Using this study as a springboard, other L1 scholars have explored the experiences of students in the natural sciences

(Belcher, 1994; Herrington, 1985; Myers, 1985) and in the social sciences (Casanave, 1995; Chin, 1994; Prior, 1991, 1998) as they learned to write for their respective fields.

In the early 1990s, L2 researchers began applying the findings of studies conducted on L1 writers to the circumstances of international students enrolled in North American universities. For the most part, those who carried out this type of research viewed international students as "outsiders" who undergo a process of acculturation (Schumann, 1978) in their struggle to learn the rhetorical conventions and overall "ways of knowing" (Geertz, 1973) of their academic disciplines.

Angelova and Riazantseva (1999) investigated the experiences of four nonnative speaker (NNS) first-year students in a U.S. Foreign Language Education program and noted significant differences in how each of the participants interpreted his or her writing assignments. Connor and Mayberry (1996) examined the processes applied by a Finnish graduate student in writing a term paper for an economics course at a U.S. university and found that his frequent interactions with his U.S. classmates played a definitive role in how he conceptualized the writing task. Hansen (2000) conducted a case study of a Taiwanese mathematics major in a graduate-level EAP (English for Academic Purposes) course and discovered that the participant experienced substantial conflict between writing for the discourse community of her field and writing for her ESL class. Riazi (1998) investigated the writing of four Iranian doctoral students studying at a Canadian college of education and found that they relied on a variety of cognitive, meta-cognitive, search, and social interaction strategies to complete the writing tasks required of them. Riazi also posited that the participants' unfamiliarity with the rhetorical conventions of their field was more debilitating than their lack of English proficiency. Schneider and Fujishima (1995) reported on a case study of a Taiwanese graduate student who was unsuccessful in his studies despite high levels of motivation and discipline. The authors concluded that the participant's lackluster academic performance stemmed from a combination of his lack of English proficiency and an overall misunderstanding of the integral role that writing plays in the academic culture of the U.S. university. Reporting on a three-year case study of a Japanese student in an undergraduate political science program at a U.S. university, Spack (1997) found that as the participant became increasingly acculturated into the U.S. collegiate writing experience, she became better at predicting her instructors' expectations for the writing tasks they assigned. Finally, Yao (1996) chronicled the difficulties experienced by a Taiwanese graduate student at a U.S. university in writing her dissertation proposal. Overall, the participant's greatest setback was a lack of exposure to the research paper genre.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

None of the studies that comprise this growing body of literature has focused primarily on NNS graduate students enrolled in TEFL programs who plan to teach EFL upon returning to their native countries. The present study, conducted at a major research university in the southwestern U.S., addresses this void in the literature by examining qualitatively how a group of four Taiwanese graduate students in a Foreign Language Education program perceive the academic writing tasks required of them. The following three questions guided the study: (a) how do Taiwanese graduate students specializing in TESL/TEFL at a U.S. university report their experiences producing academic writing in English? (b) what strategies do they report employing as they negotiate the academic writing tasks required of them for their studies? and (c) how do they perceive academic writing for their field compared to other forms of writing?

Participants and Setting

The respondents for this study were four Taiwanese graduate students (two doctoral students and two Master's) ranging in age from their mid 20s to their mid 30s. One of the doctoral students was male and the other three students were female. To be considered for participation in the study, the respondents had to have completed their undergraduate education in Taiwan, be specializing in TESL/TEFL in the Foreign Language Education program at the university where the study took place, and plan to teach English upon returning to Taiwan.

Consisting of a total of 79 doctoral and Master's students, the Foreign Language Education program in which the study took place was comprised of 43 percent native-English speakers and 53 percent international students (from Korea, Iran, the People's Republic of China, Mexico, Japan, Thailand, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia). Among these international students, there were ten Taiwanese, who made up about 13 percent of the total student population of the program.

The Researcher

Because the researcher is the "primary measuring instrument" (Gall, Borg & Gall, 1998) in qualitative research, it is appropriate that I sketch a brief description of my background to add to the "trustworthiness" (Lincoln & Guba, 1995) of the findings presented herein.

A recent graduate of the Foreign Language Education doctoral program at the university where the study took place, I have studied Mandarin formally and informally in the Republic of China [Taiwan], the People's Republic of China, and Singapore for a total of seven years.

To supplement my doctoral studies, I served as a writing instructor to international graduate students for about five years. Taiwanese students typically made up about 20 percent of the student bodies of these courses. None of the participants in this study was a former or current student.

Sampling Procedures

The semester prior to conducting the study, I discussed the project with an informed insider in the Taiwanese community of the academic program in which the study took place (*snowball sample*, Gall, Borg & Gall, 1998). I then made a list of the Taiwanese Master's and doctoral students in the Foreign Language Education Program and randomly selected two graduate students and two doctoral students.

Participant Profiles

This section sketches a brief description of the participants of the study. (For further information, please refer to Table 1 below.) All names are pseudonyms, and some of the biographical information has been slightly altered to protect the respondents' identity.

Shih-hua. Shih-hua, a doctoral student in his mid-30s, had received his undergraduate degree in English Literature from a prestigious Catholic university in northern Taiwan. Prior to commencing his doctoral studies, Shih-hua earned a Master's in Foreign Language Education at a different U.S. university. He returned to Taiwan to teach English at a university for two years to fulfill the teaching requirements of his doctoral program.

At the time of the study, Shih-hua was married and had two children; his wife and children were living in Taiwan, waiting for him to finish his doctoral studies. He planned to complete his studies as soon as possible so he could be reunited with his family and begin searching for a tenure-track position at a university in Taiwan.

Shu-chih. Shu-chih was in her early 30s at the time of the study. Among the respondents, she reported to have the most extensive L1 writing experience. Before entering her doctoral program, she had earned a Master's at a different U.S. university. Returning to Taiwan after completing her Master's program, Shu-chih worked as a journalist for a prominent (Mandarin-language) newspaper in Taiwan for two years. She also taught English at a Taiwanese university for three years. A highly motivated student, Shu-chih exuberated confidence that her highly-developed L1 writing proficiency would transfer to her L2 writing over time. Shu-chih was married and had one child.

Yao-hua. In her mid-20s, Yao-hua was in the third semester of her Master's program at the time of the study. She had received her bachelor's degree in English from a prestigious university in northern Taiwan, where she had been required to write a majority of her undergraduate coursework in English.

After receiving her bachelor's degree, Yao-hua worked for two years as a salesperson at a trading company in a city in northern Taiwan. At this job, she communicated regularly with customers in English through e-mail. She also spent two years as an instructor at a private language school, where she taught English to high school students. Following graduation from her Master's

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program, Yao-hua planned to return to Taiwan with her husband to teach English at a high school in her hometown.

Su-huan. In her early 20s and single, Su-huan was in the fourth semester of her Master's studies at the time the study took place. Having majored in Japanese, Su-huan came into her degree program with only limited experience writing in English. After she received her Master's degree, Su-huan planned to return to Taiwan to teach English at the senior high school level.

METHOD

The principal data gathering instruments for the study were two structured/semi-structured (one to one-and-a-half hour) audio-taped interviews with each participant, informal interviews with respondents (e.g., passing in the hallways between classes), the participants' reflective journals, and drafts of their writing that they voluntarily submitted for analysis. In an attempt to limit researcher bias, I also recorded my own observations in a comprehensive journal throughout the course of the study. The audio-taped interviews totaled about twelve hours, yielding about 200 pages of transcribed data.

The time lapse between the two structured interviews was about five weeks. This respite not only gave respondents ample time to reflect on the development of their writing between interviews, but also facilitated member checking, a process through which the researcher meets with the respondents of the study to confirm the accuracy of his or her data collection devices up to that point in the investigation. Following the first interview, I provided each participant with a transcription of our meeting, and the first fifteen minutes of the second interview were devoted to confirming the accuracy of the transcription.

DATA ANALYSIS

Because I hoped to gain an understanding of how the respondents, as future EFL teachers, perceived academic writing as NNS's in the U.S. academic environment, I employed the grounded theory approach to data collection and analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). According to this type of qualitative research, data analysis is an inductive and on-going process. The investigator codes the data in three distinct ways (open, axial, and selective) with the goal of allowing unexpected categories and eventually theory to emerge from the data. Furthermore, through persistent engagement and prolonged exposure, the analyst attempts to describe the respondents' reality from their own (emic) perspective.

Throughout the study, I conducted a series of steps to ensure the objectivity of my data-collection methods. After each interview and reading/coding session, I drafted a memo of my reactions to what I was observing in the data. I then transcribed the interviews and coded the data by searching for reoccurring themes in the data. In the process of open coding, for example, I entered all of the codes onto a master list and divided them into forty-seven categories. After an extensive weeding out process, I re-analyzed the data to ascertain how the forty-seven categories played out in the circumstances of each participant.

As a means of conducting a subjectivity audit, I met with a peer debriefer, a native-English speaker enrolled in the same program, four times over the course of the study. In our meetings, I asked my colleague to code data samples according to the procedures outlined above. When we compared our analyses, we detected only minor differences in the resulting codes and categories (a roughly 96 percent rate of consensus).

I initially intended to perform an informal analysis of my respondents' writing samples. As the study progressed, however, I decided instead to use the respondents' written products to stimulate conversation in the interviews.

The second form of respondents' writing used as data was the participant process log, which provided insight into the participants' writing experiences that were not fleshed out in the interviews. Each participant (save one participant, who was unable to keep a process journal) submitted at least five log entries.

FINDINGS

Four themes surfaced in my analysis of the data: (a) The respondents reported that their previous English language training in Taiwan did not adequately prepare them for the L2 writing demands of their graduate studies; (b) the Master's and doctoral students harbored different perceptions concerning what comprised academic writing; (c) the respondents reported using a wide variety of strategies in composing academic writing; and (d) all of the respondents considered academic writing to be an anxiety-provoking event.

The Teaching of English Writing in Taiwan

According to the respondents, the teaching of English in Taiwan, especially in junior and senior high school, is taught primarily according to the Grammar Translation Method, with the objective being to prepare students for college entrance examinations. Although this training reportedly provided the respondents with a thorough understanding of English grammar, it placed minimal emphasis on the development of written or spoken competence. Other than rare cases in which they were taught by native-English-speaking instructors, the respondents reported that the English instruction they had received in Taiwan had been conducted predominantly in Mandarin.

The respondents also stated that writing receives scant attention in the Taiwanese English classroom because the English writing component of the college entrance examinations contributes only minimally to test-takers' final scores. Su-huan summed up her high school English learning experiences accordingly: "They emphasize translation but nothing about the structure of the writing, not at all! Maybe it's because we did everything for an entrance exam and the writing part takes up only a little bit part of the whole exam." In the same vein, Shu-chih reported that "in Taiwan, English teachers normally don't teach us how to write. We basically just read English textbooks and then memorize the grammar rules to prepare for our college entrance examination. We just study grammar."

Regarding training in English writing at the university level, the participants reported that they were mostly instructed to compose "free writing" exercises (e.g., on topics such as "My Summer Vacation"). They also responded that they were not taught pre-writing skills such as brainstorming, clustering, and outlining. Shu-chih described this: "I started to write in English in college because my instructor asked us to write, and he never did really teach us how to write. He just said, 'Okay, we have read this article. Now go write something. Write what you thought about this article. And just turn in your assignment!'" Similarly, Su-huan added: "In Taiwan, our professors didn't require us to follow any format, so we just write anything. I don't think we are required to write anything that seriously."

Differing Perceptions of Academic Writing and Other Types of Writing

A cross-case analysis of the data revealed a marked difference in how the doctoral students and the Master's students viewed academic writing. Whereas the Master's students drew stark comparisons between what they considered to be academic and personal writing, the doctoral students did not make such distinctions.

The Master's students' perceptions of academic writing. The Master's students spoke at length of their disdain for academic writing. Su-huan, for example, considered academic writing as "cruel" and "cold" because it forces the writer to conform to strict guidelines that hamper creativity. Conversely, she saw personal writing (e.g., e-mails to friends) as "warm" and "genuine" because it allowed her to "be herself" without fear of being evaluated by others. Su-huan described her feelings regarding these differences between academic and personal writing accordingly: "For academic writing, the audience might be my professors or other people. They don't care about what kind of person I am. They just care about what I say. In my personal writing, I'm writing to all of my friends. They care about me, about what I feel. It's very much different."

Similarly, Yao-hua denounced academic writing as "fake writing" because "audience and genre are contrived." Elaborating on this statement, she continued: "In academic writing, you are outside and not part of yourself. You are on the outside. You don't talk about your feelings." Yao-hua also reported that one of the chief differences between academic writing and personal writing is that one must use "fifty cent" words (that are different from real conversation) to construct an impersonal and detached voice in academic writing.

The doctoral students' perceptions of academic writing. The doctoral students, on the other hand, did not make such distinctions between academic and personal writing. Stating that the success of their future careers would ultimately be decided by their ability to publish articles in U.S.-refereed journals, they seemed to believe that all of the writing they composed during their graduate studies would contribute to the improvement of their English writing proficiency.

The doctoral students spoke positively of academic writing as a separate language skill that they would need to develop for their future careers. Shu-chih was optimistic that she could transfer effectively the L1 writing skills she had cultivated as a journalist to improving her English to what she termed an "acceptable state." She compared composing academic writing to "reciting music for an audience." When asked what academic writing was not, she replied: "Driving down the highway on cruise control. It is not something you just do relaxed. You must always be thinking - and it is a very long highway!"

Like Shu-chih, Shih-hua expressed fewer negative sentiments regarding academic writing than the Master's students. Strongly influenced by a psychology course he was taking, he spoke of writing as a means of "constructing knowledge." He said that "writing is a kind of construction, and it's a very important approach for me to build up my understanding....If I didn't do any writing, it's hard for me to remember what I have read." Shih-hua also compared the processes involved in composing academic writing to digging a well ("You dig - trying to find something - and water comes out!") and the construction of an architectural structure ("First, you build the basement and then the support and then the roof - but it must be planned first.").

Interestingly, the doctoral students also spoke of academic writing as a means of solving immediate and future problems. Shu-chih, for example, viewed academic writing as way to compensate for her lack of participation in classroom discussions, a behavioral pattern she attributed to her formative education in Taiwan. For her, "writing assignments is one way that you can express your knowledge in class. This is ONE WAY that you can show to your instructor that you really know something and that you really studied."

Strategies Employed for Academic Writing

Altogether, the respondents reported to employ more than two dozen different strategies when writing the texts required of them for their graduate studies. Among these, only two were mentioned by all of the participants: Social interactive strategies (e.g., discussing assignments with instructors or classmates) and modeling strategies (e.g., writing off of templates provided by instructors or classmates).

Individually, however, the respondents reported a broad array of strategies in their approaches to their writing assignments. Shi-hua, for example, relied on the following eight strategies:

1. Extensive reading to maximize input and become familiar with the appropriate register of the genre at hand.
2. Beginning writing projects as early as possible in the semester.
3. Creating graphs of subject matter as a means of constructing meaning.
4. Mining templates for terms to use in future writing assignments.
5. Divine intervention (prayer).
6. Extensive outlining and pre-writing organization.
7. Analyzing native speaker and non-native speakers' e-mail messages.
8. Transferring L1 writing strategies to composing in the L2.

Academic Writing as an Anxiety-Provoking Task

It would not be possible to accurately describe the respondents' emic perspectives without addressing the tremendous anxiety the participants reported attaching to the composition of academic writing. Two major sources of this anxiety continuously surfaced in the data. First, the respondents reported to have received what they considered minimal training writing in English in their formative education in Taiwan. The second reported source of anxiety among the respondents was a deep-seated concern that unintended others would read their writing, discover imperfections in the content or grammar, and judge them accordingly.

Before discussing further these anxiety-provoking aspects of L2 writing, it is important to mention the extremely high expectations the respondents appeared to place on themselves. From our conversations, I gathered that these expectations were the result of two interrelated factors: (a) the respondents were "high achievers" who had succeeded in an extremely competitive educational system in Taiwan, and (b) they planned to serve as English teachers in an educational environment that places a premium on grammatical accuracy. Among the two, the latter was mentioned the most frequently. Shih-hua, for example, said that "it means a lot for me to be as perfect as possible at ALL AREAS of English grammar because I am a TEACHER! As a teacher, YOU HAVE TO BE CORRECT!"

Lack of English writing experience. The first identified source of anxiety among the respondents was the reported lack of experience in writing the types of compositions required of them for their coursework. Since, according to the respondents, the chief focus of EFL instruction in Taiwan is to prepare students for high school and college entrance examinations, they all felt that their EFL instruction had left them ill-prepared for the written component of their graduate studies in the U.S. All of the respondents stated that they were often unsure as to what their U.S. professors expected of them when using such terms as essay, research paper, and term project. Shu-chih stated: "But you know I found that to do a research paper, it's totally different from what I've been writing in Taiwan. That's my major concern." Surprisingly, this was even true of

Yao-hua, who reported to have received training in what she referred to as "U.S.-style essay writing" during her undergraduate studies.

The repercussions of writing anxiety. The respondents also reported to experience various forms of writer's block due to what I perceived as a preoccupation with grammatical accuracy. Their former training according to the Grammar Translation Method had instilled in them an extremely low tolerance for errors. Shih-hua said that this concern for correctness influenced his ability to express himself in written English. He described this: "I have to write correct stuff. CORRECT! And sometimes I will find little mistakes and I cannot express myself fully" (See Cheng, Horwitz, & Schallert (1999) for a fascinating investigation into the relationship between L2 language learning and writing anxiety among Taiwanese university students).

This concern for accuracy was detrimental to the respondents' writing because it caused them to over-monitor their written output. The more they monitored their writing, the more difficult they found it to explore their thoughts when writing. Reflecting on her experiences, Shu-chih remarked: "I don't have much writing experience in English, so I will feel insecure about writing. After I write a sentence, I have to check, I have to look it up in the dictionary to make sure I'm writing the correct sentence....And I have to be very, very careful about the word usage."

These concerns about grammatical accuracy, not to mention worries regarding the accuracy of the content, aggravated respondents' anxieties that their mistakes would be exposed to others. As mentioned above, a source of this fear was that their classmates or instructors would judge them according to their limited writing proficiency. This is evident in the following statement by Su-huan:

> I don't know. I just feel that I am not confident enough about my academic ability. Yeah, I don't think I have critical thinking or if I can analyze articles or materials correctly. I just worry that if I write something wrong and I submit it to my supervisor she will be angry or she will laugh at me.

Similarly, Shu-chih reported facing a dilemma because one of her classes required her to participate in an on-line writing community that she feared would expose her English errors to her classmates. To avoid a potentially "face-losing" situation, she posted her entries as late as possible, diminishing the likelihood that her classmates would be able to read them in time for class. She described her choice for adopting this type of avoidance strategy: "It's because I don't have much confidence. If I could write really well, of course I will welcome everyone to see my writing. 'Be my guest!' But right now, I'm not good enough."

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DISCUSSION

The results of the present study indicate that the respondents' perceptions of academic writing, the strategies they employed to compose the texts required for their coursework, and the anxieties they reported feeling while writing in English for their coursework were as diverse as the individuals themselves. At the same time, however, some of the respondents' statements support generalized conclusions. The purpose of this section is to evaluate these shared tendencies in an effort to understand the respondents' perceptions of academic writing.

First, all of the respondents reported that composing academic writing was an anxiety-provoking activity. One source of this anxiety, they reported, was related to their formative education in Taiwan, where English is taught through the Grammar Translation Method with the primary purpose of preparing students for high stakes entrance examinations. Judging from the data gathered for this study, it appears as if the heightened emphasis the Taiwanese educational system places on grammatical accuracy led to a hyper-concern for grammatical correctness. Moreover, the respondents' approaches to academic writing in their graduate programs appear to have been strongly influenced by the aforementioned concern for grammatical accuracy.

The respondents' perceptions and anxieties concerning academic writing were also influenced by what they considered to be a lack of L2 writing experience in their previous English learning. Although the respondents had acquired a solid foundation in the mechanics of writing grammatically correct sentences, after beginning their U.S. graduate studies they discovered what Shu-chih referred to as the one-sidedness of her formative English training (the focus on grammatical accuracy at the expense of communicative competence).

Furthermore, because the respondents were training to be teachers in an educational system that places a heavy emphasis on grammatical correctness, their future success as English teachers would depend on the grammatical quality of their written and spoken English. Perhaps this explains why the two doctoral students were more concerned with the "correctness" of their written English than the two Master's students. The doctoral students would be teaching at the higher level, where their errors might be more conspicuous due to the complexity of the course materials and their students' own English proficiency.

All of the respondents expressed a concern that their errors would be detected by future readers of their writing. In fact, among the language learning skills (listening, speaking, reading, writing, and culture), the respondents overwhelmingly perceived writing to be the most threatening because any errors would be permanently exposed to known and unknown readers.

These concerns led to the respondents' tendency to over-monitor their written output. Driven by the focus on sentence-level accuracy from their previous EFL training in Taiwan, and compounded by the fact that they were training to serve as teachers (who "CANNOT MAKE MISTAKES" [Shu-chih]), the respondents reported that writing was a grueling process requiring vast amounts of time. In their desire to produce mistake-free texts, the respondents appeared to have placed themselves in a vicious and apparently perpetual cycle. The higher the respondents set their expectations for the finished product, the longer it took to express the ideas they were trying to write. Adding to this anxiety was the necessity to budget time between the writing project at hand and their other coursework.

Another finding of the study is that the respondents' reported perceptions of the act of academic writing were directly related to their perceived future roles as instructors of English. The Master's students appeared to view the learning of academic writing as a temporary obstacle to overcome so they could receive their advanced degrees and return to teach English at the high school level. At no point in the study did they give the impression that they would be required to write extensively in English to preserve their future jobs.

The doctoral students, on the other hand, viewed the acquisition of academic writing skills as a long-term goal. Because of their perceived future need to produce academic writing to sustain their roles as professors or researchers, the doctoral students expressed a need to hone their written competency so they could earn the respect of their colleagues and compete with other doctoral students in what they described as an increasingly competitive marketplace. Another concern expressed by both of the doctoral students was whether their English would improve to the point that they would be able to publish their scholarly work in reputable U.S.-refereed journals, an increasingly important requirement for scholarly advancement in Taiwan.

PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Several pedagogical implications can be derived from the present study. First, after returning to their native country from their studies in the U.S., instructors such as the participants of this study could strive to implement pedagogical approaches that de-emphasize the importance of grammar in the L2 classroom. By placing greater emphasis on composition in the instruction of L2 writing, for example, instructors might encourage students to view writing in English as a means of self-expression rather than just another means of being evaluated. Teachers might find that this pedagogical approach works best when they adopt the role as a learning coach (who scaffolds students' learning through all stages of the writing process) rather than an autocratic authority whose chief role is to identify errors and dispense correct answers.

In recent years, L1 and L2 scholars have enjoyed remarkable success with the implementation of alternative forms of writing instruction, such as electronic chat rooms in which students communicate with each other or with students in English-speaking countries in real-time (Harrington, Rickly, & Day, 2000). The outlook for employing these new methods is promising in that they not only encourage contact between students but also reinforce the notion that writing in the L2 can be a potentially rewarding communicative activity.

A final implication derived from the present study is that faculty in U.S. institutions share the responsibility of preparing international students for the writing challenges they will encounter during studies in their respective departments. Faulty could do this by encouraging international students at the onset of their graduate studies to enroll in adjunct writing courses that emphasize the cultural factors at work when one composes in an L2. Academic departments could also implement cohort systems with the goal of facilitating interaction between native and non-native students as they compose collaborative writing projects.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

While I made every effort to ensure the transferability of the present study to other cases and other populations, it is important to note several limitations of this study. One such limitation is that the data gathered were based on the reported experiences of the respondents. According to Sternglass and Pugh (1986), "The validity of such [reported] accounts cannot be judged in any absolute or definitive way. We don't know whether the person is conscientiously attempting to describe behaviors and mental processes as they occurred or is editing those experiences" (p. 299). Moreover, as the respondents obviously had high expectations of themselves, it is possible that the respondents' assessments of themselves as writers were unrealistically critical. Further study would be needed to make a more objective evaluation of the respondents' proficiency in academic writing.

Another limitation is that the small population sample may not be representative of all Taiwanese graduate students in the field of second language education. The question as to the efficacy of generalizing from such a minute population of Taiwanese graduate students resides, of course, with the reader. Perhaps a more in-depth longitudinal study over the length of several years (e.g., Spack, 1997) with a larger number of participants (e.g., Johanson, 2001) would provide a more complete picture of how students' attitudes regarding academic writing change over time.

A final limitation of the study is that it does not attempt to ascertain similarities or differences between the respondents' writing experiences and those of their native-speaking classmates. It is possible, and indeed likely, that native speakers would harbor concerns similar to those reported by the respondents' (e.g., the fear of others' detecting errors in their writing) in their attempts to compose for their advanced studies. Indeed, further exposure to native-speaker writing (in first draft form) would likely reveal that even native speakers experience tremendous difficulty with the processes involved in composing academic writing. Further studies are needed to compare the writing experiences of native and non-native writers in the demanding context of graduate school.

CONCLUSION

The present study attempted to identify how a group of four Taiwanese graduate students perceived the task of academic writing as they completed the writing necessary for their coursework. It was found that both the Master's and the doctoral respondents perceived academic writing as a unique form of writing (as opposed to personal writing) that is often anxiety-provoking. Potential sources of this anxiety were the respondents' lack of experience writing U.S.-style academic writing, the desire for grammatical perfection in their writing imbued in them by their formative educational experiences in Taiwan, and the high expectations they placed on themselves as English teachers in an educational system that places a premium on grammatical accuracy. Furthermore, the respondents over-monitored their composing processes and expressed concern that mistakes in their written English might be detected by others. This compounded their anxiety because it slowed down their writing processes to the point that they feared they would be unable to complete all of their assigned writing projects.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to express his appreciation to the four respondents for volunteering their time to participate in the study. He would also like to thank Stanley Johanson, Diane Schallert, and the anonymous reviewers of the TexFLEC editorial board for their comments on earlier drafts of this manuscript.

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Contradictions, Appropriation, and Transformation: An Activity Theory Approach to L2 Writing and Classroom Practices

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In this report we propose that activity theory provides a useful framework for understanding how students learn to write in a foreign language and how student and classroom practices evolve over time. Moving away from the predominant focus of foreign language pedagogy (at least in the U.S.) on the individual, activity theory emphasizes the sociocultural and historical nature of the learning setting. After first outlining central tenets of activity theory, we then apply them to understand (a) how international students in a first-year university rhetoric and composition course appropriated concepts and tools of rhetoric and self-evaluation, (b) how those concepts and tools mediated their learning to write in English, and (c) how tensions/contradictions in the class led to changes in the composition activity system. We conclude by positing that activity theory has potential for contributing to our understanding of the strong influence of sociocultural factors on the learning process and for informing second language composition theory and pedagogy.

INTRODUCTION

> *A second language learner writes, "Of course my desire to study it's my own decision but it's baised [sic] on the way I was raised."*

Most studies in the field of second language composition focus on the products and processes of *individual* students. Recently, though, an alternative approach to language learning is investigating language learners as *social* beings. Of course, the fact that people are social is not a new concept. Williams (cited in Horner, 1997) points out, however, that for most scholars this concept means merely that individuals live in a social world or use "socially inherited forms," not that "the contents of [one's] consciousness are socially produced" (p. 507). Asserting that human cognition is "in a very fundamental sense a cultural and social process" (Hutchins, 1995, p. 353) and is mediated by the tools and resources used (Wertsch, 1991, 1994), this approach emphasizes the sociocultural and historical influences of the institutions in which students engage in learning. As social beings, students and teachers embody institutional influences with the result that sociocultural influences play a significant role in how teachers teach and how students learn, which strategies they employ, and how they interact with other students and teachers. Heath's (1983) research in Appalachia, for example, demonstrated how a family's "ways with words" influenced how their children talked and interacted in school, thus preparing them for success or failure. Scribner and Cole's (1981) work with the Vai in Liberia showed that social patterns of literacy practices affected cognitive functions. To understand, then, how students learn to write in a second language, one must investigate the sociocultural influences of the institutions in which they participate.

One particular sociocultural perspective is activity theory. The word *activity,* from the German *Tätigkeit,* means "doing in order to transform something," and thus activity theorists study "human practices as development processes" (Kuutti, 1996, pp. 25, 41). Although activity theory is the leading theoretical approach in Russian psychology (Kaptelinin, 1996), it is just beginning to make inroads in U.S. research. It has been used in human-computer interaction studies (Bødker, 1991, 1997; Nardi, 1996), developmental workplace research (Engeström, 1987, 1996; Engeström & Middleton, 1996), and education (Dillon, 2000; Grossman, Smagorinsky, & Valencia, 1999; Kozulin, 1998; Moll, Tapia, & Whitmore, 1993; Newell, Gingrich, & Johnson, 2001; Wells, 1994; Wertsch & Toma, 1995). It and other sociocultural approaches are only slowly making headway in L2 research (Hall, 1997; Lantolf & Pavlenko, 1995). Accordingly, we wish to use activity theory as a framework for investigating second language writing because, as biologist Henri Atlan has argued, "interaction between seemingly disparate disciplines, with different classification schemes, theories, and methods is crucial in developing new knowledge" (quoted in Syverson, 1994, pp. 7-8).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Activity theory, along with other sociocultural approaches, traces its origins to Vygotsky, who asserted that knowledge is first seen on the social plane and afterwards becomes internalized on the psychological plane (Vygotsky, 1981, p. 163); knowledge is sociohistorically mediated. That is, people's ways of thinking and learning develop through and are shaped by the activities in which they participate, activities that are social in nature and have historically developed tools, structures, and settings. Thus, in their everyday actions and activities, people inherit and embody the sociohistorical residue of their predecessors so that *context-independent cognition is non-existent.*

Vygotsky's work focused on the mediated learning of individuals. Differentiating between individual action and collective activity, A. N. Leont'ev, one of Vygotsky's colleagues, formulated the beginnings of activity theory (Cole & Engeström, 1993). Actions differ from collective activity in that they have defined goals having a beginning and an end. Leont'ev used the example of the primeval collective hunt in which some tribal members made noise to frighten the animals towards hunters waiting to catch them. The two actions of making noise and catching animals together constitute the activity of hunting, and outside the context of hunting, the action of frightening animals would be meaningless because the goal is not to frighten animals away but to catch them.

To understand individual actions, therefore, one must know the context in which those actions are embedded, namely, a system of activity.

Moving towards a better accounting of the collective nature of activity, Engeström (1987) expanded Leont'ev's concepts graphically to include rules, community, and division of labor (see Figure 1).

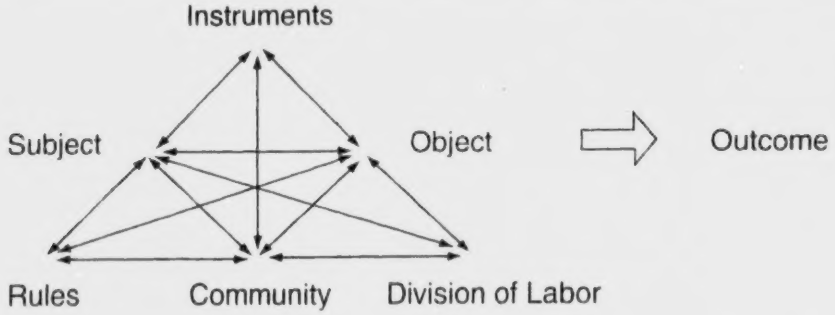

Figure 1. The structure of a human activity system (Engeström, 1987, p.78). Reprinted with permission.

In this model, the *subject*, usually a collective one, refers to the individual(s) whose perspective is being analyzed and who is working towards some *object*, tangible or intangible, in order to transform it into some *outcome*. *Instruments* are the mediating artifacts, psychological or material, that shape the activity (and, in turn, are shaped by the activity) and that the subject uses to achieve expected outcomes, with *rules* guiding the system's actions and interactions. People, either as individuals or in groups, who have the same object make up the *community*, and the *division of labor* considers how tasks are divided horizontally among community members and vertically with respect to power and status (Engeström, 1996). What ties the elements together is "a collective object and motive [that] is realized in goal-oriented individual and group actions" (Hasu & Engeström, 2000, p. 63). Activity systems are not static but dynamic. All of a system's elements reciprocally and dynamically influence each other so that the system is continually adjusting, adapting, and changing.

Activity systems interact and overlap with other activity systems. In an undergraduate university course, for example, there are at least two overlapping activity systems: that of the teacher and that of the students (Dillon, 2000; Lantolf, 2000). Two systems exist because the object of the course differs between teacher and students, and so, too, their perspectives. Dillon (2000) asserted that the object for students is meeting graduation requirements and that the course is an instrument for doing so, whereas for the teacher, teaching the course is the activity's object, and instruments are the resources available for teaching the class. Even when the teacher and students have the same object, the teacher will also have the students as an object (Engeström, 1998). This dual (or multiple) nature of the classroom's activity should influence the pedagogy chosen. An apprenticeship model, for instance, might be appropriate for graduate student seminars in which instructor and students could have the same object of, say, producing a paper for publication. However, although exceptions may exist in K-12 and undergraduate courses, teachers and students do not generally engage in the same activity.

Just as objects differ between teacher and students, so do their communities and the division of labor. The community for teachers is usually other teachers, but for students it is classroom members. Accordingly, the division of labor for teachers is the classroom, whereas for students it is usually each student for him/herself (Engestrom, 1998), although collaborative work on projects could result in a different division of labor. Rules, which can be both explicit and implicit, would normally be the same for both, and so, too, would the outcome: the transforming of the object (text) into grades and test scores (see Figure 2).

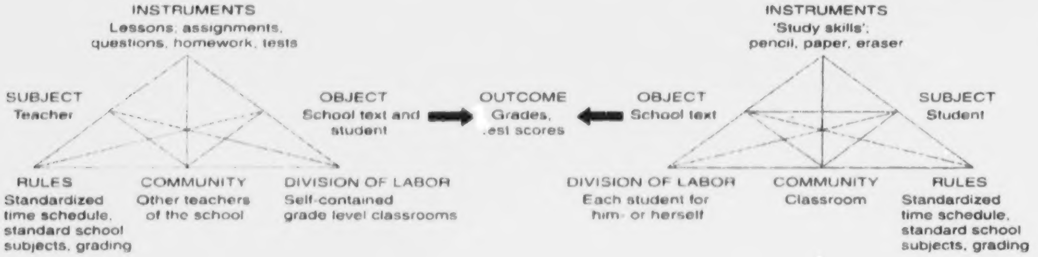
INSTRUMENTS
Lessons; assignments, questions, homework, tests
SUBJECT
Teacher
OBJECT
School text and student
RULES
Standardized time schedule, standard school subjects, grading
COMMUNITY
Other teachers of the school
DIVISION OF LABOR
Self-contained grade level classrooms
OUTCOME
Grades, .est scores
INSTRUMENTS
'Study skills'; pencil, paper, eraser
OBJECT
School text
SUBJECT
Student
DIVISION OF LABOR
Each student for him- or herself
COMMUNITY
Classroom
RULES
Standardized time schedule, standard school subjects, grading

Figure 2 Traditional teaching and school going as interconnected activity systems (Engeström, 1998, p. 80). Reprinted with permission.

Changes in activity systems come about through the reciprocal and unified processes of *internalization* and *externalization*. Because internalization may imply a transmission method of knowledge that neglects the active participation of the learner, from here on the term *appropriation* will be used instead. Tied to appropriation, or internalization, is externalization, or the manifesting of internal processes externally and the creating of new artifacts and social practices.

What drives appropriation, and thus development, is the contradictions and tensions between individuals and sociocultural influences, between two or more elements of an activity system, and between different activity systems. To *develop* means to resolve or transform these contradictions (instead of merely shifting them elsewhere), thus resulting in a change in the activity system: the construction of a new object and motive(s). Such a change is a long-term cyclical and spiral process of internalization and externalization that Engeström (1987) called *learning by expanding*:

> The essence of learning activity is production of objectively, societally new activity structures (including new objects, instruments, etc.) out of actions manifesting the inner contradictions of the preceding form of the activity in question. Learning activity is *mastery of expansion from actions to a new activity*. While traditional school-going is essentially a subject-producing activity and traditional science is essentially an instrument-producing activity, learning activity is an *activity-producing activity*. (pp. 124-125, italics in original)

In other words, instead of a composition class turning students into walking encyclopedias of rhetorical conventions and genre, not to mention grammar, it should enable students to (a) *analyze* and *connect* rhetorical conventions with particular genres and genres with certain audiences, (b) *transform* these conventions and genres into contradictions, and (c) *expand* and *generalize* these conventions and genres into their own writing and other communicative practices for their own goals, motives, and productive societal practices (Engeström, 1987, p. 125, our adaptation to writing).

This paper continues the sociohistorical approach taken by Engeström and other activity theorists to explore how international students learn to write and interact in a first-year university composition course, and it asks these questions:

1. How do students *appropriate* tools and concepts of rhetoric and self-evaluation?
2. How do these tools and concepts *mediate* their learning to write in English?
3. How do *contradictions* lead to an *expansion and generalization* of student and class activities?
4. How can sociohistorical factors affect *achievement*?

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY

The study, participant-observer in nature, focused on a first-year university composition and rhetoric course for international students in part because it was taught in a computer-assisted classroom three out of the five class days a week (the other two days during the week were in a classroom without computers), which introduced a wide variety of electronic tools for analysis. As Haas (1996) has argued, "because technologies are at once tools for individual use and culturally constructed systems, the study of technology can provide a fertile site in which to examine the larger issue of the relationship between culture and cognition" (xv), and we would add that it allows investigation into the influence of activity systems on learning to write in a second language. This class was also chosen in part because one of the authors (Nelson) was the teacher of record. Both Nelson and Kim, the second author, are doctoral students in foreign language education. Schwarzer, who attended the class several times and who helped to structure the research, is the third participant observer and an assistant professor in the same program.

The study consisted of 10 out of 17 students in the class. (Two others had consented but later dropped the class.) Participant backgrounds were diverse. They represented seven different countries, and it was their first year in the U.S. for most of them. Their classifications ranged from first year to graduate student, and their ages ranged from 18 to 26 years of age. Some had much writing experience in English while others had almost none. Majors ranged from the liberal arts to the sciences, and one student even had a law degree (see Table 1).

Table 1 Student Background Information

Pseudonym	Sex	Age	Country	Year in university	Major	Years in U.S.
Cahyadi	M	19	Indonesia	2	Computer Science	0
Carlos	M	18	Mexico	1	Economics	1
Catalina	F	26	Brazil	4	Linguistics/Literature[a]	0
James	M	18	Hong Kong	1	Computer Science	0
John	M	19	Hong Kong	1	Computer Science	0
Jungsook	F	21	Japan[b]	3	English	0
Keiko[c]	F	25[d]	Japan	4	Anthropology	2[d]
Lucas	M	20	Brazil	3	History	0
Maria	F	18	Cyprus	1	Biochemistry	0
Neelum	F	22	India	3	Computer Science	0.5

[a] Catalina has a law degree.
[b] Jungsook, although born and raised in Japan, is of Korean ethnicity.
[c] Keiko has a degree in history.
[d] Estimated.

Data Sources

Data collection consisted of the students' Online Learning Records [now called the Learning Record Online (see Syverson, 1995)] with their observations, summary interpretations, and sample documents of writing and other class activities (see Context section for sample documents and Appropriation for an explanation of the Online Learning Record); three tape-recorded interviews with each of the participants, one interview each at the beginning, middle, and end of the semester; and questionnaires assessing their educational background, biographical data, and writing attitudes and abilities (see Appendix for questionnaire).

In addition, the three participant-observers made observations while students were engaged in class activities. Nelson and Kim usually typed their notes up immediately after class, fleshing out the handwritten observations with more recalled information. As the teacher of record, Nelson made observations every class day, five days a week. Kim made observations each day she came, approximately two days a week, and Schwarzer, the three times in the semester he came to class. To reflect collectively on the class, audio-taped conferences were held. Nelson and Kim conferenced together once every two weeks for the first month and approximately once every three weeks after the first month. All three participant-observers held a conference after each class that Schwarzer attended.

Context

The course, Rhetoric & Composition for Nonnative Speakers of English (an international version of a required first-year university course), is situated in a large, research-oriented university in the U.S. Designed to teach argumentative writing supported by research, the classes generally have students write four papers (three papers if using the Online Learning Record due to its own extensive writing requirements) of three to five double-spaced pages in length through a process approach of preparing topic proposals, preliminary drafts, peer and teacher reviewing, revising, and final drafts for each paper.

The class took place in two classrooms: one with computers and the other without. In both classrooms, rectangular tables, two side-by-side and two or three tables in length (4.2 x 1.8 m for the computer classroom and 5.9 x 1.8 m for the other room) with chairs all around, straddled the center of the rooms. The computer room had 24 Power Macintosh G3 computers around the room next to the walls, about three to four feet away from the tables, except for six computers at one end. Students could turn their chairs 180 degrees and roll either to the computers or to the tables. All homework except for a few assignments at the beginning of the semester was turned in electronically.

ANALYSIS OF CLASS

We will first look at how students appropriated class tools and concepts, how their learning was mediated, and how contradictions in the class led to an expansion and generalization of some students' activities and to changes in the course. We will then discuss how sociohistorical factors influenced two students' achievement.

Appropriation

Various concepts and tools had to be appropriated in the class, including rhetorical concepts, research tools, technological tools, and class practices. Due to space constraints, the appropriation of only two instruments will be discussed in this section: class interaction and the Online Learning Record. To identify levels of appropriation, we draw upon Grossman, Smagorinsky, & Valencia's (1999) system of classification:

- Lack of appropriation.
- Appropriating a label (knowing a tool's name but not its features).
- Appropriating surface features (knowing some or most features but not being able to fit them into a "conceptual whole").
- Appropriating conceptual underpinnings (understanding the tool's conceptual basis and being able to use it occasionally in novel situations).
- Achieving mastery (using the tool effectively).

Appropriation of class interaction practices. Students are influenced by the previous institutions and activity systems in which they have participated, and for this reason, how and how well students appropriate concepts and tools vary accordingly. For instance, it seems that students from Mexico, Brazil, and India are accustomed to frequent class discussion in their home countries:

Carlos	The students ask lots of questions during the class, and for some, from time to time, it depends on the teacher, the way he teaches, they might ask lots of questions during the class, to the students, to keep them awake or something
Catalina	There is class discussion in Brazil. There we, I don't know, maybe we interrupt more the class, but we ask all the time, and there is more discussion
Lucas	we have 30 people in a classroom, and you can discuss things, and the teacher can open the discussion for the class and everybody has an opportunity to discuss something, to express their opinions

From the beginning, the students from these countries were the most active participants in leading small group discussions and in asking and answering questions in class.

In contrast, participants from Indonesia, Hong Kong, and Japan interacted much less frequently during class, influenced by their educational experiences of listening to teachers lecture in their home countries. Cahyadi, an Indonesian student, commented,

> I think because about the tradition, I mean in Asia, like people don't like to ask questions. They prefer to send an email or come to the teacher after the class. They kind of embarrassed ... or shy or something when asking a question in front of the all people.

Cahyadi mentioned the possibility of asking teachers questions outside of class, but he added that only "a few per cent of the students" would do so. In fact, he rarely asked the teacher questions in person but preferred to send questions via email.

Several students from Asia did interact more with the teacher outside of class, continuing their previous practices. John, from Hong Kong, for example, reported in his first interview at the beginning of the semester that he and most other students at his high school would ask questions after class on an average of twice a week for each class and, especially before examinations, questions about homework, "some problems like how to change, how ... to improve something, to get better result." As the class setting encouraged questions in class, after class, and via email, John continued these practices. He came to all three individual conferences on rough drafts held outside of class, queried the teacher sometimes after class, and emailed to resolve "problems." For instance, he emailed questions concerning his paper's topic proposal to the instructor:

> I am not quite sure what do I say for the importance to the readers.
> Could you explain to me in more details?
> One more thing about the topic proposal. I am quite sure whether
> my warrants are correct. Please give me some comments.

With respect to "get[ting a] better result" on his grade, he asked via email:

> Yes, I am trying to go significantly beyond what is required in order to get an A in this class that directly affect the my chance of getting into to CS major. What do you suggest me to do so that I can achieve my goal.

These examples suggest two conclusions. First, students' appropriation of class practices, such as open class discussions and in-class student-teacher interaction, seemed influenced by students' prior sociohistorical experiences:

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Those students accustomed to in-class questioning and discussions continued their previous practices, and those from less interactive backgrounds continued their practices, although they did slowly move toward more whole-class interaction due to the class setting's influence. Obviously, the former group of students had previously mastered such class practices. The latter group, in contrast, had difficulty appropriating these practices, perhaps because although they could understand at a surface level what other class members were doing, previous social patterns of participation hindered their embodying new concepts of interaction.

Second, appropriation, at least in this class, seemed to be scaffolded through social interaction, as indicated by questions through email and outside of class. This second assertion does not deny the contributions of lectures, books, and other sorts of less social interaction, but rather underscores the fact that learning is socially situated.

Appropriation of the Online Learning Record (OLR). The OLR is a portfolio record integrating classroom activity (teaching and learning), assessment, and research (Syverson, 1995). It accomplishes this integration by providing the structural support and the concepts for students (and teachers) to evaluate their development. Self-evaluation is supported by requiring students to interview someone who knows them well to obtain an opinion on their reading, writing, and thinking skills; to write their own reflection of the same skills; to make observations on class-related activities; to select samples of their work; and to interpret those observations and works in terms of their learning with respect to rhetoric, research, and collaboration. The OLR structures students' self-evaluation by providing the concept of five dimensions of learning by which they would assess their development: confidence and independence, knowledge and understanding, skills and strategies, use of prior and emerging experience, and reflection. Besides integrating writing activity, learning, and assessment, the OLR also embodies the rhetorical concepts taught in the class. Namely, it is a written argument on the students' development in the class. Students present a *claim* for a grade corresponding to their development. They provide *reasons* for their claim, which is an analysis of their development, and furnish *evidence* for their analysis in the form of their work and observations.

Appropriating the OLR was a slow process for the students because it was foreign to them and complex. For this reason, the teacher devoted two days of the first week of class to explaining its format, purpose, and philosophy, and he also assigned readings with examples giving further explanation. About two weeks into the semester, students wrote a paragraph or two explaining the OLR, its purpose, and how it might help them meet their class, university, and career goals. Students seemed to understand to varying degrees that the OLR was an evaluation tool tracking their development:

Lucas	We can use it to demonstrate our improvements [in learning] and claim for a good grade based in our amount of work.
John	I think OLR is a material that Mr. Nelson can see how students change in their writing.

Most students, however, had not yet understood the OLR's conceptual underpinnings. In fact, as one student put it at the beginning of the semester, the OLR was "extremely confusing." For the most part, students had only appropriated labels and surface features presented by the teacher as indicated by other comments:

Catalina	but I have to confess I don't understand yet how exactly is it going to work or to be helpful to us.
Jungsook	OLR would help me: - write English everyday. - check what I did and studied. - know how I felt. - see my improvement through the feedback. However "samples of work" is still not clear to me.

Jungsook wrote that "it took about 1 month to understand the OLR," and almost two months later at least two students did not understand the learning dimension of "use of prior and emerging experience." Thus, students were seen appropriating labels and surface features but not being able to fit the parts into a conceptual whole.

Key to appropriating the concepts and practices of writing in the university is participation. When students participate in listening to lectures, they learn how to listen to lectures. For students to learn how to write or acquire a tool, they must participate in writing or using the tool. Participation brings students face-to-face with contradictions between their understanding and their implementing that understanding, as in putting together an OLR. Thus, Neelum said,

> But I did okay, if somebody points me, What is this? Then I can do it. But at that time, I didn't understand importance of observations, actually. But when it comes to, when I have to make midterm OLR, then I understood … what is the reason behind making observation. And like at that time, I used to think, Okay, Sample of Work means just observation, couple of sentences from the observations, essay, rough draft, exercise, and stuff like that. But I have no idea, why should I put it in here, OLR, ... At that time, Mid OLR Summary, it didn't make sense when I did it, ... Because I thought okay, this person knows this, this, this, but at that time, I didn't knew, okay, its evidence is in Sample of Work and Observation. But when, it make sense to me when I wrote MidOLR. And then after that point, I tried to be careful about Observation and everything.

Accordingly, before the Midterm OLR, many students wrote observations on their confusion about the OLR, but after composing their Midterm OLRs, only one such observation was seen, indicating that they had appropriated the conceptual underpinnings of the OLR by the end of the semester.

Participation enabled students to appropriate the OLR despite much confusion. Similarly, despite no apparent confusion, lack of participation in whole-class discussions by students unaccustomed to such practices precluded appropriating this practice. It seems that participation was mediated in part by the requirement of grades. Appropriating the OLR was necessary to obtain a good grade while participating in class was not.

Mediation

Mediation occurs through the concepts and tools people use to construct meaning and perceive the world, the primary tool being language. Other major tools in the class included the technologies, the instructor, and the concepts to be learned. The rhetorical concepts mediated the students' perception of reading and writing, as Lucas noted,

> Well, practicing, that's good. The theory, the rhetoric theory, it's good, because you know, of course, I knew that you have to have some organizations and I knew what was definition argument, and evaluation argument, but I didn't have words and conceptions for this. ... You have kind of structure, you know, for some things, but rhetoric gives you concepts, it's more easy to deal with it. So you, sometimes we read something and you recognize this, you know that, you know what the guy's doing

Obviously, Lucas used to understand a text's plain meaning when reading but now armed with rhetorical concepts understood more than the surface level of the text.

Next to the teacher, and perhaps to the rhetorical concepts taught, the major tool mediating learning was the OLR because it structured support and provided learning concepts for self-evaluation. Support was structured via student observations on class-related activities, whether inside or outside of class. Thus, students developed the practice of noticing their use of rhetoric and also its use in other arenas. As Lucas observed,

> I'm reading a text written by Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) in 1615 called "Letter to the Grand Duchess Christina" (Drake, S. *Discoveries and opinions of Galileo*). I'm astonished with Galileo's power of argumentation! He defends his scientific cause within the theological affairs and gives good reasons! I observed that he used in his text arguments of character such as quotations of St Augustine and other greats figures of the church....

Observing other arenas through the lens of rhetoric mediates learning. For Lucas, science is becoming perhaps no longer a matter of discovering facts but an art of persuasion.

This support was reinforced through the dimensions of learning, especially the one of reflection. Required to reflect on their learning, students had to come to grips with its nature, albeit not always successfully. Reflection was problematic for students, yet to differing degrees students' appropriation of reflection seemed to shape their learning. Maria, a student who had "seldom collaborated" previously, learned that others "think different than I do" and, as a result, could "improve [her] work tremendously by hearing other people's ideas." Other students also commented on learning from others:

Catalina	I think that talking to classmates is a very good strategy to elaborate our academic works, because people sometimes come up with things you haven't thought about or haven't realized about your own work.
Carlos	My final thought is that learning becomes more effective with collaboration because instead on relying on what we individually know we collaborate and learn from others.

Thus, the OLR appears to have shaped student learning by focusing students on their actions, by providing learning concepts that mediated how they observed and evaluated their development, and by helping them become self-directed and reflective. At the same time, however, it also was the source of key tensions in the classroom.

Conflict and Transformation

Conflicts for students existed between their previous levels of vocabulary and the vocabulary in their readings about the OLR and rhetoric, between previous notions of writing and rhetorical concepts to be acquired, between their historical expectations that assessment was the teacher's job and the need to evaluate themselves, between the amount of time needed to make observations on their activities and their belief that that time could be better spent doing more formal writing, and between their confusion concerning the OLR and their need to use it to obtain the grade they wanted.

The action of constructing the Midterm OLR did not necessarily diminish the level of confusion because although it brought resolution to some contradictions, it also created others. One student wrote,

> The problem I faced when writing my OLR is matching the 5 dimensions [of learning] within the 3 areas [of rhetoric, research, and collaboration]. I first had to realize what each dimension means and then go through all my observations and work and choose what represented knowledge, what

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> skills and strategies I have acquired, how I used prior and emerging experience, how I have built confidence and most difficult critical awareness (reflection). I think that I haven't fully understood what the OLR means by saying reflection and how is that shown so it was difficult for me to find reflection in rhetoric, research and collaboration.

Similarly, another student commented,

> One problem that I had was organizing all the information to show my learning. The problem for me was to accommodate all the information that we have done during the semester in some way that it would reflect where my skills in rhetoric, research and composition where at the beginning of this semester and my improvement in each one of these skills. ... It was difficult to try to synthesize all the learning and then divided in the three areas: research, collaboration and rhetoric. And then apply into the five dimensions of learning.

For these two students and others, quite a few tensions remained: formatting the OLR, understanding the dimensions of learning, especially reflection, with respect to the three areas of rhetoric, research, and collaboration; selecting samples of work that best reflected their development; and synthesizing and interpreting their learning.

Contradictions are not necessarily to be avoided, however, because they are the driving force of transformation within an activity system (Engeström, 1987). The contradiction between OLR confusion and their goal of obtaining a grade of B or A led students to take steps to appropriate the OLR and to resolve that contradiction. Those steps involved using other tools: language, the teacher, and other students' work. Students discussed the OLR format with other students, queried the teacher in person and via email, and paid close attention to the Midterm OLRs of other students. In fact, after seeing other classmates' OLRs, several students revised their understanding of the OLR, and at least one decided to "reorganize [her] entire OLR again." In the processes of revision, reorganization, and participation, most students gave evidence by the semester's end that they had appropriated to different degrees the OLR's conceptual underpinnings:

Cahyadi	Now, I completely understand what the benefit of using the OLR system. We can monitor our improvement as well as our weaknesses.
Neelum	This [OLR] activity helped me to think critically and also learn from peer's work.
Catalina	I'm sure [the OLR] is very important and efficient as a learning tool, and since we would have everything recorded, we would be able to

> evaluate our own works and development, which can help us with critical reflection.

These remarks indicate that the contradictions surrounding the OLR transformed it for the students from an object of confusion into an instrument of critical reflection.

Expansion and Generalization

Contradictions can lead students to expand and generalize forms and genres studied in class into their own writing for their own goals, motives, and productive societal practices.

Student Expansion. Such expansion was seen in two students' uses of the OLR. From the students' perspectives, the OLR was a genre connected to one particular teacher and class. They had never seen it before, and they may never see it again. Even so, one student, Lucas, appropriated the OLR's Observation section and expanded it into a tool for his own goals. Rather than limiting observations to a direct recording of his actions as instructed, he used it as a tool for understanding and reflecting on class readings and concepts as evidenced by some of his observations:

> September 22 (Definition paper):
>
> - One doubt: Does the rebuttals need to "beat" all the previous reasons or just a few of them? …
> - I still have a problem with the transitions between paragraphs. Can we use ordinary transitional words or only repeat the last paragraph sentence idea?
>
> September 29 (Tilt): I have a doubt. When I'm making a research and there are a lot of sub themes very interesting how do I manage to get straight at the point that interests me? Which one is better; to take time to look for all the themes, or continue working in just one. The problem is that you don't have time to look for all of them but on the other hand it is not good to let interesting topics get loosed.

He seemed to generalize this technique of interaction with texts and lectures to other classes and readings as indicated by this observation:

> I'm trying to develop an efficient system to read and retain important information from academic books. There are different kinds of reading and I'm trying to find a good mechanism for academic reading. Highlights are not enough, and make comments on the book or on a sheet of paper, or make summaries of each paragraph along the text, etc. takes a long time. Most of the times I don't read my own comments and they make the reading a slow process…

Another student, Neelum, also expanded aspects of the OLR and rhetorical concepts for her own purposes. She said in an interview that she was continuing to make observations, although not necessarily on academic matters but more on her own life:

> First of all, whenever I argue with some people like, I make sure, who is he, like if he's my friend, he's like, that makes me help me to choose my language. Then I try to, okay, what he's thinking, and how should I respond to him? And third thing, I make sure, like whatever I think, he understand that. It's not misunderstanding or confusion in between, so I try to give examples, more and more examples, and if examples not work, like when my own example doesn't work, then I try to drag some other people in between who knows me and him, both of them. That's how I do.

Apparently, Neelum had noticed a contradiction between her previous methods of arguing and the rhetorical concepts in class. She knew an arguer needed to understand her audience and its values, that the language chosen should meet her audience's expectations. By using examples as our textbook recommended, she was following the rule of "connecting with her readers," or speakers, to become more persuasive. Learning from the OLR to be more reflective, Neelum came to generalize rhetorical concepts learned in class to her everyday interactions with friends and relatives (see Figure 3).

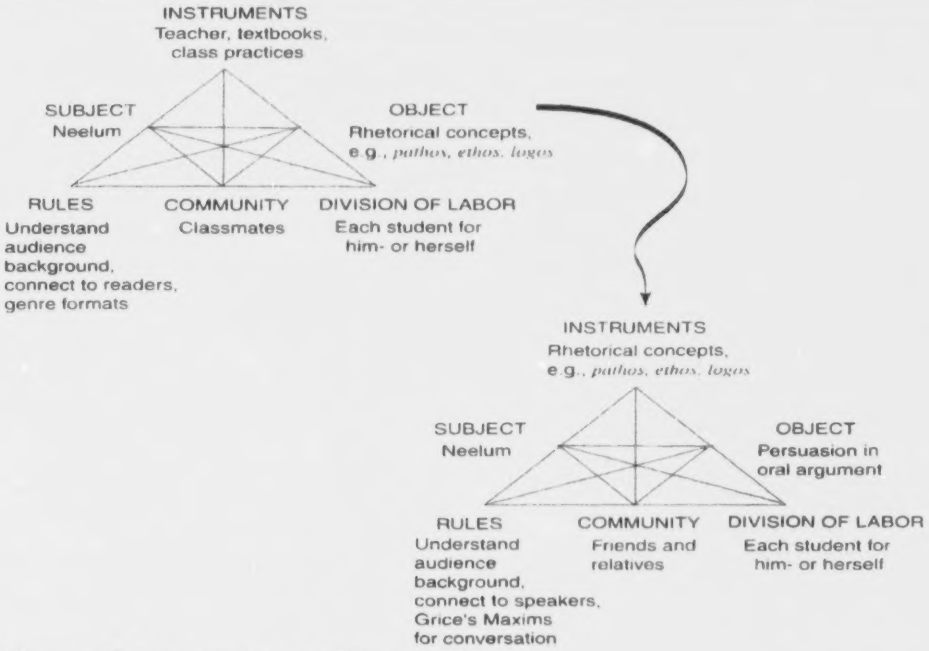
INSTRUMENTS
Teacher, textbooks, class practices
SUBJECT
Neelum
OBJECT
Rhetorical concepts, e.g., *pathos, ethos, logos*
RULES
Understand audience background, connect to readers, genre formats
COMMUNITY
Classmates
DIVISION OF LABOR
Each student for him- or herself
INSTRUMENTS
Rhetorical concepts, e.g., *pathos, ethos, logos*
SUBJECT
Neelum
OBJECT
Persuasion in oral argument
RULES
Understand audience background, connect to speakers, Grice's Maxims for conversation
COMMUNITY
Friends and relatives
DIVISION OF LABOR
Each student for him- or herself

Figure 3 Expansion into another activity

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Class Changes. Besides changing members' participation in an activity system and how they come to understand and use its tools, contradictions may also alter the system. Conflicts with the OLR led to student suggestions that because the OLR readings and samples by native speakers of English are not easy to follow or understand, future classes should have sample OLRs from nonnative speakers and a simplified version of the OLR information. The former has been implemented, and the latter is in progress. Actually, the OLR is difficult for native speakers to appropriate, too, and for that reason, among others, a pilot study is being conducted now in five rhetoric and composition classes in which an online interface puts the different parts of the OLR together for the students, attempting to scaffold their conceptual understanding of the whole.

Note, though, that the class system, although resolving contradictions, is not yet expanding them into other productive practices, for instance, in the Division of Rhetoric and Composition. Institutions are on a different timescale from individuals and change much more slowly than their individual members. Similar to evolution in which many genetic adaptations must accumulate before speciation becomes visible, many material and psychological changes must accrue before institutions evolve into new systems.

Sociohistorical Influences on Achievement

Sociohistorical factors, past and present, can affect student achievement, as seen in the case of Maria from Cyprus and Jungsook, a Korean who was born and raised in Japan.

Past sociohistorical influences. Maria and Jungsook were similar in some ways. Both were attending an American university for the first time. Both had limited computer and writing experience. Both of their formative educational backgrounds had a similar class format: lecture without interaction between teacher and students. This format's historical influence shaped their methods of obtaining information. When they had questions, they generally sought answers after class or through email rather than during class.

There were differences, though. Jungsook was a junior majoring in English and attending a U.S. university as an exchange student for one year. Maria was a first-year student majoring in biochemistry. Jungsook had done some academic and creative writing in English at the university level in Japan, but, unlike Maria, she had not been exposed to the traditional five-paragraph essay model. Although both did well in the class, we might have expected that Jungsook, having more university experience and majoring in English, would have been the more successful of the two at least gradewise. However, this did not turn out to be the case because sociocultural influences led one student to be "satisfied" with a grade of B while another strove for an A.

One sociocultural difference was how higher education is valued by their respective societies. Higher education in Japan is not considered by many students to be primarily a time of studying. Gray (1999) wrote that students

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cannot fail in a Japanese university. Actually, they can fail, but it is very difficult to do so (C. Adamson, personal communication, July 24, 2001). For future employers, grades and ability are not as important as the school attended (Gray, 1999; Ishikawa, 1997; The Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21st Century, 2000). Moreover, employers have not considered graduate degrees necessary as further training will be "tailored to the company's needs," although this practice is changing (Ishikawa, 1997, p. 302). For the most part, higher education remains a "time for [students] to socialize, join clubs, develop social skills, connections for the future, potential mates, and to explore personal interests" (Gray, 1999).

These comments resonate with Jungsook's perspective on university life. About two weeks into the semester, she was required to write a short essay on her class, university, and career goals. The following is one paragraph from that essay:

> Unfortunately I haven't found my career and life goals yet but it doesn't mean I don't look for my goals. I all the time think about what I can do now and what I need to do. Personally I'm interested in intercultural communication. … I'm going to graduate from my university in Japan in 2002 and I would do job-hunting them. Until them all I can do is that first, I learn and study many things at universities (in Japan and [university in the U.S.]). Secondly I see and talk with a lot of people including students, teachers and so on as much as possible through school life and variety of activities in order to make wide network. I believe all of the experience in the university would make me strong and help me find my goals.

Jungsook did study and appreciate her learning. (In fact, she studied "all the time" in the U.S. due to U.S. institutional influences.) However, she had appropriated Japanese societal concepts of the university being a place to "network," and, as she said later in an email, "Having fun making friends, living freely is most important."

In contrast, according to Maria, "most Cypriots feel that university requires a lot of study but this doesn't mean they study enough," and "most Cypriots choose to continue their studies to get *at least a Master's* in order to get a better work back home" (italics mine). Out of her high school class of 28, all went to university except one or two. And Maria's goal was to earn a doctorate in biochemistry.

Moreover, in Maria's case, the institution of family played a major role in her goal of pursuing a doctorate. She wrote,

> The main influence for students like me and that boy to get a Ph.D is our family. My parents have a Master's and my father wants to see me and my sisters going beyond what he did in his life. But the main reason is the

> way my parents raised me, that is in a very calm environment full with love for everything including love for education.... Thus my grandparents (from my mother's side) wanted their children to have the chance to get educated. My grandfather always wished us: I hope you reach the highest step. ... Both of my parents got scholarships to study (my father was working and was 25 when the scholarship gave him the opportunity to study). Now me and my 2 sisters are studying on a scholarship. Thus you see it's all about family. Of course my desire to study it's my own decision but it's baised on the way i was raised.

Maria's family history had influenced her considerably. Her father and grandfather wanted her to go "beyond what he did" and "reach the highest step." Appropriating these sociofamilial influences, Maria had become in her own words a "perfectionist," as seen in her reading the OLR six or more times compared to other students' one or two times.

Present sociohistorical influences. Not only were past sociohistorical influences at work, but also present ones as well. Maria's strong science background made her classes in science, such as first-year chemistry and physics, fairly easy for her because she was competing against Americans, most of whom, it seems, had less rigorous science backgrounds than she did. In fact, she did not go to office meetings with her professors because she was "far ahead of the other students." (She received A's in all of her classes.) She had extra time to appropriate the rhetorical and OLR concepts.

In Jungsook's case, her major of English worked against her. Taking courses in anthropology, sociology, and business communication, she engaged in presentations, papers, and extensive reading, tasks which were not only in a culturally bound second language but also were not part of her prior educational experience. In effect, her background was less rigorous than that of the Americans in her classes. Unlike Maria, Jungsook had no extra time, finding it difficult to keep up with assignments and classes.

The factor of time was not merely a result of conflicts between different countries' educational systems but also of classroom practices because time entered the grading equation. The basis of evaluation was engagement in the class rather than the level of proficiency attained. The major rationale for this grading system was that the wide disparity of writing proficiency and English language skills among the students would allow the stronger ones to coast by on previously acquired skills without improving and would discourage the weaker ones from striving for more than a C. (It would be close to impossible for some students to otherwise pass this class.) However, knowing that the weakest students could earn an A motivated them to use the system, which in turn mediated their understanding of what it meant to excel in this class: engagement in the course work and development in rhetoric, research, and collaboration.

To obtain a grade of A, however, a student had to go beyond the required course work, which took more time than achieving a grade of B. Although Maria had more than enough time to work toward an A, as indicated by her "perfectionist" six-time reading of the OLR, time should not be considered as a stand-alone variable. Maria, having appropriated her family's values to be "successful in the university," had set for herself the long-term goal of obtaining membership to the academic community as a professor of biochemistry, perhaps even remaining in the U.S. Her goal, she felt, required as many A's as possible in order to maintain scholarship support for the duration.

In contrast, Jungsook did not work towards an A due to lack of time. Just as important, though, her previous university experiences did not place such a high value on grades, allowing her to consider a grade of B as satisfactory. Furthermore, her goal was a one-year experience of improving her language skills and learning about American culture before returning to Japan to complete a bachelor's degree, which may or may not have much to do with her as of yet unknown future career community.

Consequently, despite being in the same class and university, Maria and Jungsook worked towards different grades because of their previous and different sociohistorical influences. Moreover, due to these influences they had different motives and thus were participating in different activities (see Figure 4).

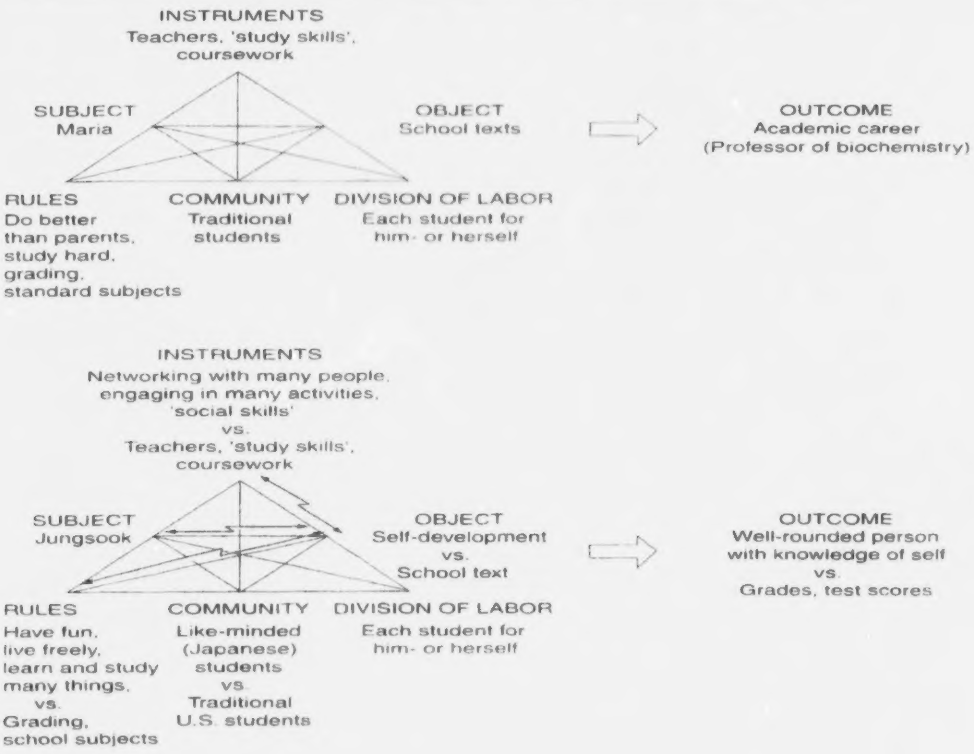
INSTRUMENTS
Teachers, 'study skills', coursework
SUBJECT
Maria
OBJECT
School texts
OUTCOME
Academic career (Professor of biochemistry)
RULES
Do better than parents, study hard, grading, standard subjects
COMMUNITY
Traditional students
DIVISION OF LABOR
Each student for him- or herself
INSTRUMENTS
Networking with many people, engaging in many activities, 'social skills' vs. Teachers, 'study skills', coursework
SUBJECT
Jungsook
OBJECT
Self-development vs. School text
OUTCOME
Well-rounded person with knowledge of self vs. Grades, test scores
RULES
Have fun, live freely, learn and study many things, vs. Grading, school subjects
COMMUNITY
Like-minded (Japanese) students vs. Traditional U.S. students
DIVISION OF LABOR
Each student for him- or herself

Figure 4 Contradictions in Activity Systems

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Although people can embody multiple motives, it seems that Maria, perceiving the university to be vital for (and the place of) her future career, was taking part in a single activity, an *activity of academic learning*, one that lines up well with high academic achievement, at least for undergraduate studies. In contrast, Jungsook—considering the university as a place for networking and extracurricular actions but entrenched in an institution requiring course-oriented actions—was more likely engaged in two overlapping and conflicting activities: an *activity of social, cultural, and personal learning* that would be supportive of any career she entered and traditional *school-going activity*. Although such conflict has the potential for learning activity to take place, traversing a battlefield of conflicting activities can, if the contradictions are too great, undermine academic achievement.

CONCLUSION

Academic achievement is not simply a matter of individual skills because students are social beings embodying the sociohistorical influences of their institutions and cultures. Students' participation in class, their appropriation of rhetorical concepts and tools like the OLR, the conflicts they face in appropriation, and their ability to expand and generalize their learning are all mediated by the concepts and tools of the past and present activities in which they have engaged and are engaging. Consequently, to understand how students learn to write in a second language, or learn to do anything, requires an analysis of the activity systems in which they are embedded and an analysis of the contradictions inherent within activities and between them.

An activity-theoretical analysis can also add to our understanding of the nature of learning activity and help us determine whether our own classrooms and educational institutions are engaged in the activity of learning or in school-going activity, which produces students filled with an inert knowledge generally not used outside of school. Even tackling engaging problem-solving tasks within a constructivist framework does not necessarily result in learning activity if the tasks have a given context that students do not transcend and generalize to other contexts.

Activity theory asserts that learning activity requires having students participate in the discovery of contradictions between what they are learning in class and what they know and practice in order to transcend the classroom context and to expand and generalize their learning into other social activities. To find the contradictions, students need tools such as the Online Learning Record that can help them observe and reflect on class-related concepts in settings outside the class, especially in their own social practices, as in the case of Neelum expanding the rhetorical concepts acquired in class to her activity of persuading friends and relatives.

Learning how to create learning activity settings is an on-going and not-so-easy struggle. Learning is a never-ending, spiraling cycle of appropriation, transformation into contradictions, and expansion into new learning activities (Engeström, 1987). The cycle includes the learning activity of educators and researchers because our thoughts and actions are mediated and shaped by sociohistorical experiences that often militate against the activity of learning. *Echoing the student at the beginning of this paper, one educator writes, "I've decided to improve the curriculum in the way I was trained."*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank Diane Schallert, Margaret Syverson, and the anonymous reviewers for their insightful and helpful comments on this article.

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Appendix

Questionnaire

Writing practices of non-native speakers of English in a first-year university writing class.

1. How would you describe your attitude towards writing when doing the following types of writing on a scale of 1 (dislike very much) to 4 (like very much), both in English and in your native language?[1]
   [In general, e-mail, diary writing, class papers/reports, resumes, applications (school/business/etc.), ICQ (Internet chat room), personal letters, other (please specify)]
2. How would you describe yourself with respect to anxiety while writing on a scale of 1 (very anxious/nervous) to 4 (very comfortable), both in English and in your native language? [In general, e-mail, diary writing, class papers/reports, resumes, applications (school/business/etc.), ICQ (Internet chat room), personal letters, other (please specify)]
3. In your opinion, how important is it for your major to have experience in the various types of writing on a scale of 1 (very unimportant) to 4 (very important), both in English and in your native language? (in general, e mail, diary writing, class papers/reports, resumes, applications, other)
4. In your opinion, how important is it for your future career to have experience in the various types of writing on a scale of 1 (very unimportant) to 4 (very important), both in English and in your native language? (in general, e-mail, diary writing, class papers/reports, resumes, applications, other)
5. How would you rate the following aspects of writing on a scale of 1 (difficult) to 4 (easy)? (grammar, vocabulary, organization, transitions, style, getting good evidence, getting good ideas, other)
6. How would you rate your language skills (listening, reading, speaking, and writing) on a scale of 1 (poor) to 4 (excellent)?
7. How important are these language skills for school on a scale of 1 (not important at all) to 4 (very important)?
8. How important are these language skills for your future career on a scale of 1 (not important at all) to 4 (very important)?
9. How many years have you formally studied English? ___ Studied in an English medium school? ___ Lived in other English-speaking countries?
10. At what age did you first begin to study English? ______
11. When did you take your last TOEFL and TWE exams, and what were your scores?
12. How many years have you been familiar with the following computer skills?

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[1] The Likert scales will not be shown for Questions 1 through 9 and 12, but items used in the scales will be enclosed within parentheses after each question. All questions with Likert scales request responses for both English and native language use.

13. What sorts of writing (for school or business) have you done in the past and how much of those types of writing have you done?
14. Other comments?
15. Name____________________
16. Major _____________________
17. Year in university ________
18. Age ____
19. Sex _____
20. Place of birth ______________
21. Native language ____________
22. Languages (except for English and your native language) in which you can speak, read, or write?

Constructivist Inspiration: A Project-Based Model for L2 Learning in Virtual Worlds

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Imagine foreign language students shopping in department stores, ordering in restaurants, and visiting cultural sites in the country of the target language. Some of the rich learning opportunities that emerge from these authentic cultural experiences can be simulated (for little or no cost) with virtual trips on the World Wide Web. However, we lack practical and theoretically based teaching models to structure this type of learning in the field of foreign language education (FLE). The Project-Based Learning approach has the potential to address this issue as well as other critical needs in FLE. Project-Based Learning is a comprehensive constructivist-based approach that engages students in the investigation of authentic problems. Research has shown the approach to be effective in enhancing student motivation and fostering higher order thinking skills, especially when supported by Internet technology. This paper focuses on the theoretical basis for Project-Based Learning and describes an instructional model developed and employed by the authors at a large Southwestern university. The model was put into practice for several web-based Spanish language lessons in which thousands of students engaged in virtual cultural experiences on the World Wide Web. Afterwards, students submitted enthusiastic comments and described a variety of types of language and cultural learning. Creative student products demonstrated engagement in the lessons and the application of grammatical and lexical topics from the course. Extensive use of on-line language and cultural resources was also evident. Because several challenges arose during the lessons, the authors present a number of suggestions for addressing those challenges in future applications.

INTRODUCTION

Technology is an increasingly important part of the classroom and the use of the Internet is becoming more common in the field of foreign language education (FLE). At the same time, there is a new emphasis on improving students' higher order thinking skills and integrating cultural learning into the foreign language classroom (ACTFL, 2001; Gonglewski, 1999). In addition, recent research has recognized the importance of affective factors such as motivation and strategy use in foreign language learning (Ellis, 1994). How do we address these challenges for language learning while responding to current pedagogical and technological trends? The field of FLE lacks practical and theoretically based models for achieving these goals, particularly in the area of Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL).

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Project-Based Learning (PBL) is one possible solution. PBL is a constructivist-based approach that aims to address the above questions. The approach originated more than a century ago with John Dewey and his followers (Dewey, 1938; Kilpatrick, 1918) and has been widely researched since then in a variety of disciplines outside FLE. Research has shown that PBL is effective in enhancing student motivation and fostering higher order thinking skills as well as in enabling students to gain deeper understandings and valuable content knowledge (Barron, 1998; Stites, 1998). PBL has also been shown to be particularly effective when supported by Internet technology (Blumenfeld, 1991; Edelson, Gordin, & Pea, 1999). This paper has two main purposes: the first is to provide an overview of the theoretical basis for PBL, and the second is to describe a practical model for employing PBL in foreign language instruction. In addition, the paper will discuss the application of this model in web-based lessons for a first year Spanish language course at a large Southwestern university. The student responses, lesson products, and perceptions of learning will be described. The challenges of this application and suggestions for future applications will also be discussed. The latter sections of this paper include the first author's observations and descriptions of the Spanish language application. While these results are not proof of the model's success, they do suggest its feasibility and provide an innovative example of how Internet enhanced PBL can be applied in FLE.

THE PROJECT-BASED LEARNING APPROACH: A THEORETICAL BASIS

Project-Based Learning is a comprehensive approach designed to engage students in the investigation of real life problems (Barron, 1998; Blumenfeld et al., 1991). Its defining characteristics include the use of authentic materials and a focus on student-centered learning. Students' questions and interests influence the direction of the projects and the learning process is emphasized through the use of formative rather than summative assessment (Angelo & Cross, 1993). Similarly, students' metacognitive awareness[1] is cultivated through various reflection assignments (Moore, 1994; Wolf, 1989). In this PBL environment, the instructor serves not as an authoritative figure who corrects and commands students, but as a facilitator who encourages and guides them. The facilitator supports the inquiry process with a variety of resources and scaffolding, which enables learners to extend their skills and knowledge to higher levels (Barron, 1998; Collins, Brown, & Newman, 1989). In addition, students produce authentic artifacts such as a travel itinerary or publication. These artifacts allow learners to communicate their understanding of the lesson material while demonstrating their ability to apply theoretical knowledge to real life situations.

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[1] Metacognitive awareness is knowledge about one's self as a learner, the task, and effortful processes, which facilitate the acquisition and use of knowledge (Alexander, Schallert, & Hare, 1991).

CONSTRUCTIVIST THEORY

The characteristics of PBL mentioned above are all based on principles derived from constructivist learning theory. Constructivist theory maintains that learners play an active role in the construction of their own knowledge. Therefore, affective factors such as motivation and strategy use have a large impact on the learning process. Learning thus needs to be student-centered, and learners should be encouraged to make their own meaningful connections. Another central concept of constructivism is the notion of "Disequilibrium", initially introduced by Piaget. Piaget wrote that when learners encounter new knowledge that does not fit within their preexisting framework, it causes disequilibrium (Fosnot, 1996). This condition leads to deeper learning, where the learner's preexisting schema must be expanded or reorganized. A general principle derived from Piaget's theory is that errors and uncertainties, which occur when learners are confronting new knowledge, are a natural and important part of the learning process (Reagan, 1999). Errors are, therefore, not be minimized or avoided in PBL. Students are encouraged to test new ideas.

At the same time, it is essential that PBL lessons be contextualized within real world situations. Constructivist theory states that learners build from their prior knowledge. Thus, learning can be facilitated when lessons contain familiar elements. Students can then make meaningful connections by linking the new information to their background knowledge. Furthermore, the knowledge students gain is more likely to transfer to new areas if they are able to see a relationship between the instructional context and that of its authentic applications (Larkin, 1989; Oxford, 1990). When concepts are taught in settings that are similar to real-world contexts learners are better able to apply those particular concepts in future settings and situations (Svinicki, 1998). These issues of transfer are especially relevant to the learning of strategic knowledge (Larkin, 1989), which is a critical part of foreign language learning.

Strategy Use and Affective Factors

Mentioned earlier, constructivist learning theory, in particular the notion that individuals play an active role in the construction of their own knowledge, justifies the emphasis on learner variables such as motivation and strategy use. As such, learners' strategic behavior is a strong predictor of learner success. A reason for this is that strategies are the basis for the higher order thinking skills. Knowledge of how and when to employ learning strategies enables students to accomplish higher order tasks. That knowledge also allows them to affect the quality and nature of their learning (Derry, 1990). However, strategy learning and use are complex phenomena. In addition to the necessary conditions for transfer, researchers in second language acquisition (SLA) agree that motivation is a necessary precursor for strategy use (Ellis, 1994). Researchers in educational psychology have investigated a number of related factors as well. The following section provides an overview of four factors that are addressed in the PBL design.

Conditions for Strategic Behavior

First, strategy use relies on good cognitive monitoring. Students need to be able and willing to evaluate their progress towards a learning goal and to self-correct (Garner, 1990). Second, strategic behavior depends upon student learning orientations. Students who have a performance goal orientation are mainly concerned with outperforming others and achieving success in terms of extrinsic rewards. They tend to place little or no attention on the quality of their conceptual understanding. This orientation has been shown to hinder strategic activity. In contrast, students who have a mastery goal orientation are concerned about acquiring new skills and concepts. They are generally more attentive to the process of learning and are more willing to put in additional effort. The latter is said to promote strategic behavior (Ames, 1992).

Third, students' self-assessments (what they perceive they are capable of achieving) and expectancy value (the outcome they anticipate for a particular task) are equally influential. If learners do not believe they are capable of a task or that a particular action will lead to success, they will be less likely to employ learning strategies. Without high self-esteem and a tendency to attribute success to effort, they are less likely to initiate or persist in strategic activity (Paris & Winograd, 1990). Fourth, students' attribution styles play a substantial role. Students who attribute success to effort are likely to engage in strategic behavior while those who attribute it to an innate ability are unlikely to adapt a strategic approach (Benenson & Dweck, 1986).

The constructivist-based elements of PBL: formative assessment, reflection, and the facilitator role all address the issues and requirements associated with the above factors. In formative assessment instructors focus on the assessment of the student learning process rather than on the final product. The aim is to bring attention to and give credit for the productive ways in which students have gone about learning and achieving certain results. This allows students to become aware of their own development and the importance of "mastering" a topic rather than simply getting the right answer. One example in FLE is the assessment of verb conjugation knowledge. In traditional exams students are often asked to do fill in the blanks or cloze tests where they write the appropriate word (often a conjugated verb) to fill in the gap in a particular text. In some cases students simply do a good job of predicting the contents of the exam, and memorizing the individual word formations. Typically, these students receive good scores on the exam, but they are often not able to remember the verb conjugations or employ them in future situations. In other cases, students have paid attention to the different verb patterns and learned specific models for conjugations that they can apply to verbs appearing on the exam. These students generally receive similarly high scores on a traditional exam, but are more likely to be able to apply what they have learned to future situations. Formative assessment is a means of recognizing such differences in process and encouraging the deeper learning that is associated with the latter case.

Similarly, in reflective assignments, students are asked to think about what they have done and how their behavior has led to certain outcomes. In these instances the facilitator helps learners to name strategic actions and to recognize where they have been successful. He or she provides positive feedback when students work efficiently and encourages them to persist in the task. The focus, then, is on increasing students' confidence and motivation by enabling them to see that they are in control of their own learning and that they can affect their own success through strategic behavior. Overall, these aspects of the PBL design are geared toward enabling students to see themselves as the locus of control. Their success is not based on an innate ability or some uncontrollable factor but upon their effortful and efficacious behavior.

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM

In addition to addressing the issues that emerge from constructivist learning theory, the PBL approach is supported by research in the social constructivist branch of constructivism. Social constructivism is playing an increasingly important role in the field of second language acquisition (Lantolf & Appel, 1996; Reagan, 1999) and the social constructivist elements of PBL are highly relevant to foreign language learning. Social constructivism takes influence from the prominent Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky, who studied the role of language in human development. One of Vygotsky's most important contributions to this area is the notion that mediational means intersect with the individual and social planes (Vygotsky, 1978). In other words, mediational means, which include verbal language and visual arts, interact with our cognition and are socioculturally situated (i.e. influenced by social and cultural contexts). Thus, when we use different types of mediational means to represent ideas and concepts, it helps us to reflect upon them and develop new perspectives (Fosnot, 1996). For this reason, the PBL design includes student production of authentic artifacts. The use of different mediums to create an artifact enables students to reflect on and articulate new concepts.

Another important notion forwarded by Vygotsky is the zone of proximal development (ZPD). The ZPD is the distance between the actual development, determined by the learner's independent problem solving, and the potential development, determined by the learner's problem solving with the guidance of an adult, or in collaboration with a more knowledgeable peer (Lantolf & Appel, 1996). Bruner extended this notion to the metaphor of scaffolding. Scaffolding occurs when a more knowledgeable participant creates supportive conditions in which a novice can extend current skills and knowledge to higher levels of competence (Lantolf & Appel, 1996). Researchers in FLE have also noted, though, that scaffolding can take place through interaction with texts and can be a mutual two-way process between peers (Villamil & de Guerrero, 1998). Scaffolding should not be mistaken as something only the teacher can provide for the student. Learners can also direct this process (Vygotsky, 1978). The application of scaffolding in PBL involves a number of instructor roles. These roles result in three basic types of scaffolding: coaching, guiding, and modeling. Coaching deals with recruiting interest, supporting students in their pursuit of specific goals, and helping students to control frustration or anxiety. Guiding entails simplifying projects by separating tasks into manageable steps, creating metaphors for the process, and marking critical features and discrepancies in the material. Modeling involves the presentation of idealized models and approaches and the demonstration of processes and strategies used by experts (Barron, 1998).

An additional aspect of social constructivism that is relevant to PBL is the notion of situated motivation. Like constructivists, social constructivists believe that motivation is influenced by cognitive assessments and individual constructs based on personal status and experience, but that these are contextualized and impacted by aspects of specific learning situations. Consequently, motivation is unstable and varies by context. Motivation is affected by students' values, expectations, and autonomy. It is further influenced by the interpersonal relations between students, their peers, and their teachers, the lesson structure, and the types of support that are provided (Wentzel, 1999). In light of this stance, advocates of PBL affirm that lesson topics, instructional features, and student/teacher roles have great potential to affect motivation.

PBL MODEL

Implementing PBL learning into everyday practice requires a number of steps as well as carefully thought out lesson plans. The following are suggested steps that have been useful to the authors in two introductory university classes of different disciplines.

Step 1: Set clear learning objectives. Start by thinking about what types of learning outcomes should be targeted in the lesson. There are many different possible outcomes, ranging from the learning of basic facts to changes in attitude. The appropriate number of objectives for a particular setting will depend on the instructor, the students, and the duration of the lesson.

Step 2: Select a real life problem. The problem selected for PBL should be one that has the potential to engage students' interest and connect learner activities to the concepts being studied. The topic should be broad enough to allow students to make choices within the topic area and have room to investigate their own questions and interests.

Step 3: Describe the "real world" context in which the problem would usually occur. It is important to place the learning in a context so that students can see a clear connection between the classroom work and its future applications. As discussed earlier, the contextualization of lessons makes the transfer of the knowledge more likely, and also makes the topic more understandable and meaningful to the learners. Students are more likely to be motivated if they can see a connection between the lessons and their daily lives. The choice of the problem context, however, will be constrained by the degree to which the context can be simulated and the types of resources available to the teacher.

Step 4: Compile authentic materials and resources. Authentic resources include the materials that professionals use to solve problems in real life situations such as dictionaries, reference books, photographs, money converters, statistics, etc. Such materials should be used to help contextualize the learning in a real life situation. In the case of FLE, teachers should also gather culturally authentic materials; materials created by members of a target culture for other members of the same target culture (Kramsch, 1993). These resources should provide a cultural context within which learners can find clues to help them decipher the linguistic material.

Step 5: Consciously employ the facilitator role. Many instructors are accustomed to a more traditional role where the focus is on providing right answers and correcting students. The PBL environment is more open ended. First, the goal in PBL is not only for students to learn a specific body of content knowledge, but also to have them become more autonomous as they gain the skills and strategies necessary for them to solve problems on their own. Second, the use of authentic materials and open-ended projects increases the variety and scope of possible student questions. As such, it is not feasible for instructors to know or research the answers to all the questions that students may come up with. Instead, the facilitator aims to support the inquiry process and the ways in which students obtain, interpret, analyze, and evaluate information. The facilitator directs students to the appropriate clues and resources, provides strategy training, helps students to divide larger projects into less daunting tasks, and supports different types of scaffolding. In sum, the goal is not for the facilitator to provide the right answers or for students to find predetermined solutions, but for students to develop skills and strategies and to gather content as they focus on solving real life problems.

In one successful PBL example, students in a physics class were given specifications from NASA for efficient and economic rockets and asked to solve the problem of how to best design them. When the students asked questions about different rocket designs and their effects on the launch parameters, the instructor introduced them to different techniques for measuring the height of the rocket launch rather than simply lecturing them on projectile motion. The students then became engaged in testing their rocket designs using the different techniques and were able to answer more specific questions on their own (Barron, 1998).

Step 6: Decide how you will assess the students. Formative assessment and reflection assignments are an integral part of PBL since they emphasize processes rather than just final products. In addition to continuous feedback from the instructor, students should have the opportunity to evaluate their own work and to assess their progress towards their goals (Anderson & Speck, 1998; Slater, 1994; Smith, 1998). Formative assessment should be scheduled at least once during the duration of the project, but would ideally occur more frequently. Formative assessment should also take place before any exams or final products. In contrast, reflection assignments can be scheduled towards the end of the lesson so that students can reflect on the processes that led to their results. Lastly, students should know ahead of time that they will receive credit for thoughtful learning and strategic approaches. The grading system should be outlined clearly in a rubric or in course instructions (Walvoord & Anderson, 1998).

Step 7: Outline the appropriate artifact choices. The final assignment in the project should not be an exam or a course paper. It must be an authentic artifact; one that would be used to solve problems and accomplish tasks in real life situations. If possible, the artifact should have an authentic purpose, a real audience, and professional guidelines that are relevant to the course goals. It should also have the capacity to reflect students' understanding and allow them to explore real issues and concepts. In addition, it is important to provide some choices for students in terms of the types of media and formats they select for their artifacts. Some examples may include creating Powerpoint slide shows, web or poster presentations, and hand-drawn or computer-generated images.

TECHNOLOGY

The Internet is often of great assistance in the application of the PBL model (Blumenfeld et al., 1991; Edelson et al., 1999; Stites, 1998). Artifacts can be created and shared using web technology and web materials can assist in creating an atmosphere that mirrors real life contexts. Images and sounds can be incorporated into the project design and a variety of relevant resources can be centralized within one web page. When selected carefully, authentic multimedia materials on the World Wide Web have been shown to be valuable educational resources, particularly in the area of FLE (Gonglewski, 1999; Warschauer & Healey, 1998).

With the web, it is also possible to post instructions on-line and to separate tasks into steps connected through hyperlinks. Relevant instruction in the form of models or strategy advice can then be embedded into each step. Moreover, students can access information and submit assignments on-line at their own pace.

PBL IN THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE CONTEXT

How can the PBL approach be applied to foreign language learning on the Internet? El Mundo Hispano Webquest (The Hispanic World Webquest) is one example. This web quest is an ongoing project and a preliminary application of PBL in a series of Spanish language web-based lessons. The lessons are part of the curriculum being employed in a first-year Spanish language course at a large southwestern university. The lessons were first tested in Spring 2000, and have now been completed by over 700 students (approximately thirty classes). The students enrolled in the classes were predominately American undergraduates who had a variety of academic majors. Their Spanish proficiency ranged from novice (learners who had never studied Spanish) to advanced beginning (students who had taken one to three years in high school[2]).

The following description and explanation of the PBL application in the Spanish classes demonstrates a number of possible themes for PBL in FLE, shows how the approach can be implemented on the web, and reports on some of the initial student responses. The description is based on the first author's teacher observations, student work, and on-line feedback submitted over the past three semesters. The students performed the bulk of the activities in Spanish.

THE PBL APPLICATION IN SPANISH CLASSES

Hundreds of undergraduate students connected to a class web site from their homes and university laboratories at their convenience. Over the course of the semester, they completed three on-line lessons. The first two lessons were weeklong warm-up web activities that took place prior to the principle PBL lesson. In the first web activity, *Compras* (Shopping) students were given a problem scenario in Spanish. They were told that they were going on vacation in the Caribbean and that they needed to buy some new clothes before they went. The students were then asked to choose two clothing items from a list of target vocabulary and to shop for the items in one of several on-line clothing stores based in Spain. First, students took notes describing the items they had chosen (material, size, color, and brand) and the price (in pesetas and dollars), using an on-line dictionary and money converter. Next, students brought their notes to class and worked in pairs to create a dialogue in which they shared and commented on each other's purchases. The purpose of this assignment was to give students a basic introduction to using the web in Spanish and to allow them to practice newly learned clothing vocabulary (see Appendix A).

The second web activity, *Restaurantes* (Restaurants) gave students more practice with simple Spanish language activities on the web. The problem scenario for this lesson was that students were going on a date to a Mexican restaurant but their companion did not speak Spanish and both of them had certain dietary restrictions and preferences. The students were required to read, look up, and make inferences about new vocabulary from one of two authentic Mexican food menus in order to select items that met their dietary needs. Subsequently, students brought this information to class and worked in pairs to create a dialogue between themselves and a waiter. The objectives of this lesson were: (a) to give students practice with recently learned food and restaurant vocabulary, (b) to enable students to learn about different kinds of Mexican food, and (c) to allow students to practice reading strategies with authentic Spanish language texts (see Appendix B).

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[2] Students who had taken Spanish in high school within the last three years, but who received a grade of "C" or lower on a Spanish language placement exam, were permitted to stay in the first year course.

In the principle lesson, El Mundo Hispano Webquest, students were given a scenario in which they won a "virtual" ticket for Spring break vacation. The ticket enabled them to travel with a classmate to their choice of Mexico, Argentina, or Spain. However, each student had to first work with their partner to create an appealing and realistic one-week travel itinerary based on real specifications from a local travel agency. .The objectives of this lesson were to help students learn about the target cultures, gain experience, and practice strategies for reading authentic Spanish language texts on-line. Additionally, students discussed future and past events and used travel related vocabulary, dates, and descriptive words in Spanish.

El Mundo Hispano Webquest

Upon entering the site, students saw a navigational bar (which appeared on each of the lesson pages) with links to a variety of resources: instructions, models, strategies, grading criteria, dictionaries, vocabulary reference, recommended tourist sites for each country, and maps. The visual design for this bar set the scene for the cultural element of the project and was based on a sculpture created by Joaquín Torres García, a Uruguayan artist who sought to represent a Pan American identity. The tourist links in the site had been pre-selected for their quality, simplicity, appeal, and stability. Links were organized by country and region. The sites included tour companies, hotels, resorts, museums, and cultural centers. In addition, several Spanish language search engines were listed. Each of these resources was described in English or simple Spanish (comprehensible to first year students) and made accessible by clicking on an image representing the site content (Appendix C1).

A table below the navigation bar divided the project into seven short steps or activities. The first activity *Entrevista* (Interview) endeavored to get students thinking about their related background knowledge. For example, students were asked if they had traveled to a Spanish speaking country and when and where they heard Spanish in their hometown. The second activity *Escoge el país* (Choose the country) encouraged students to generate their own questions and interests for the project so that they could conduct focused investigations of the sites. For example, the activity asked what country they would choose to visit and why, and what kinds of activities they would like to do while traveling. Students were also asked to select Spanish phrases from a list of travel related terms and encouraged to scan for key words in the sites (Appendix C2).

Following these introductory activities, students were told to choose a partner with whom they would like to travel and to begin research on their travel destinations. Instructions and a model for a third activity were then provided in the site: each pair of students was to negotiate their travel interests by e-mail, or in person, and give a written copy of their dialogue to their instructor. This assignment gave the teacher an opportunity to provide credit for and feedback on the students' processes and planning. The instructor also responded to students' questions and provided support for their work throughout the project.

In the fourth activity, the student pairs worked together on the web site to find specific places they would like to visit and activities they would like to do. They then wrote up their plans in an authentic travel itinerary format that accounted for each day's activities, meals, and hotel locations. These itineraries were supposed to be feasible, both in regard to the number and type of activities and the distances between locations. Detailed descriptions and references to a variety of locations and activities were required as well.

In the fifth activity, students prepared to present and discuss their work to the class. Many students chose to create colorful poster boards with photographs from the web and drawings of their destinations. The presentations were done in Spanish over the course of two class periods. During these classes, each pair responded to questions and received feedback from their instructors and peers. Afterwards, students completed two final activities: a written account of their trip in the past tense (step six), and an on-line reflection form (step seven). The goal of the written account was for students to personalize the story of their trip while practicing a variety of verbs in the past tense. The purpose of the reflection form was to encourage students to reflect upon what they had learned and how they had arrived at their project results.

INITIAL RESULTS

Overall, the itineraries and stories created by students in the courses have been vastly different and highly creative. Projects dealing with Mexico alone reflected a diversity of interests. One group of students found clubs to visit and places to do a variety of water sports. A second group wrote about festivals in the villages and an organic farm. A third group discovered gourmet restaurants, art museums, and a theatre. Some of the students made up elaborate details about whom they met. Others described what they ate, and a number of them talked about how they felt as they conducted their travels.

Remarkably, these first year students did all of these activities, presentations, and projects in Spanish. For the most part, the students employed travel vocabulary and grammatical principals that they had studied in the course that semester. However, many students also used new lexical items and grammar rules from the websites to describe their travels. The accuracy and sophistication of their work suggests that they had applied different types of strategic and declarative (or factual) knowledge. The itineraries showed an understanding of how to apply basic verb models to conjugate new verbs, and how to employ rules to determine the gender and the appropriate articles for nouns. The students also demonstrated their knowledge of Spanish/English cognates by correctly deciphering and incorporating new words into their written and oral work. Overall, they seemed to have applied their knowledge of the language into practice.

Feedback submitted in the student reflection forms revealed equally positive results regarding the PBL lessons. Students were informed that they would not be graded for their opinions on this form, but that they would simply receive credit for completing it. There was no length requirement for the reflection. In spite of these loose guidelines, hundreds of students wrote lengthy comments describing how they had enjoyed the lessons. They noted a variety of worthwhile learning outcomes such as acquiring vocabulary and cultural information. Some of the students even said they gained new perspectives and more positive attitudes towards the target culture.

In the Fall 2000 semester one student, who had not studied Spanish before and who had never been outside of his home state, wrote that he liked the assignment because it forced him to learn more about Argentina; a country he would not have otherwise thought of visiting. The student reported finding a lot of activities that he would like to do in Argentina and learned that the country is more modern and has a better economy than many of the other South American countries. Another student suggested that he liked the challenge of trying to figure out how to write complex sentences and going beyond the words and phrases taught in the textbook. This particular student also learned more about the extensive occupation and influence the Moors had in Spain. A third student said that she enjoyed pretending to have enough money to take a trip and that she had fallen in love with *El Prado*, a well-known art museum in Spain. Many other students said they appreciated taking the "Virtual Vacation," and some said it had sparked an interest in traveling abroad. Finally, two students from a Spring 2000 course actually used their travel itinerary for a real trip to Mexico the following summer, and another student used the assignment to gather information for a real spring break trip with his parents.

CHALLENGES

The primary challenge facing the PBL model in this application was to carry out the constructivist-based elements, namely the facilitator role and the formative assessment. While web editors make it easy to post information and resources, partition tasks into manageable steps, and embed instruction into lessons, the fact that the instructor is not present during students' work on-line makes it difficult to know when and what types of scaffolding are needed. One of the authors found that to bridge the class time and work on-line, it was helpful to bring a computer cart into the class to demonstrate certain procedures and initiate student questions pertaining to the specific tasks and texts in the web site. At least one on-line demonstration should occur during the PBL lesson if the web is used as the primary tool.

Formative assessment also proved to be difficult, not because there was a lack of types of formative assessment, but because the principles behind this type of assessment seemed incompatible with the course curriculum design. First of all, the course itself had a full curriculum. Assignments included three exams, one final exam, three oral recordings, one final recording, approximately twenty four writing assignments outside class, three in-class writing assignments, work on grammar and vocabulary quizzes once a week in a lab, and a lab final. Additional miscellaneous work included quizzes, a workbook, textbook and supplementary textbook exercises, and participation in class four days a week. Therefore, even though the web lessons were well integrated with the course assignments, they were just one of many items instructors needed to grade and students needed to turn in. Consequently, there was little enthusiasm for adding additional types of assessment. To handle this challenge in future applications, the authors recommend that teachers allow time to appropriately integrate PBL into a curriculum and realize that the implementation may require some changes in the overall course plan. .

Another challenge relating to the curriculum was the focus on final products rather than processes. In the course where the PBL model was applied exams were worth 55% of the course grade, the final oral recordings were worth twice as much as the interim recordings, and the final lab test was equal to the entire course work in the lab. The concept of giving credit for the processes involved in the PBL web-based lessons was, therefore, somewhat of an anomaly. Teachers in FLE may have to work diligently to articulate the value of formative assessment and promote this aspect of PBL.

Fortunately, the Internet seemed to simplify procedures from the student point of view since they were able to get instructions and assistance, conduct their research, and complete their assignments all from one web site. On the other hand, the submission of on-line work and distribution of that work to course instructors required more complicated computer programming. It is recommended that instructors, who are not experts in computer programming, seek assistance with this aspect of the PBL approach.

Lastly, because PBL is fairly new in FLE classrooms, and some instructors are still not sufficiently familiar with the Internet, it is essential that administrators of the approach allow the time and means for teacher training and student orientation. Web sites should be made to stand on their own with precise but simple instructions. After several trial runs, the authors found it important to write instructions using both Spanish (that corresponded to the

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students beginning-level) and English in order to support student comprehension and engagement.

CONCLUSION

This initial application of PBL in the context of a first year Spanish language course suggests that the model is feasible, especially with the assistance of the Internet. The Internet offers access to authentic cultural and linguistic materials reflecting different dialects and cultures in the Spanish-speaking world. Moreover, most of the applications described in this study can be carried out with basic web editing skills. In addition, students' comments and work implied their appreciation of the approach. They enjoyed taking the "virtual vacation" and reported learning about a diversity of cultural and linguistic topics. Some students also mentioned gaining new strategies for language learning and research on the Spanish language web.

Despite these signs of student enthusiasm and learning, more rigorous research is needed to formally evaluate the success of this PBL application. In addition, research is needed to determine whether PBL can lead to the improvement of higher order thinking skills and increased motivation for foreign language learners. Nonetheless, this preliminary exploration does suggest that PBL offers a promising solution to the problem of how to use the Internet within FLE. The approach has a sound theoretical basis and can be translated into a practical teaching model such as the one presented in this paper. Project-Based Learning holds great potential as a means for meeting current needs in FLE and it merits further exploration in the field.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to thank Dr. Marilla D. Svinicki and Dr. Zena T. Moore from the University of Texas at Austin for their help and encouragement.

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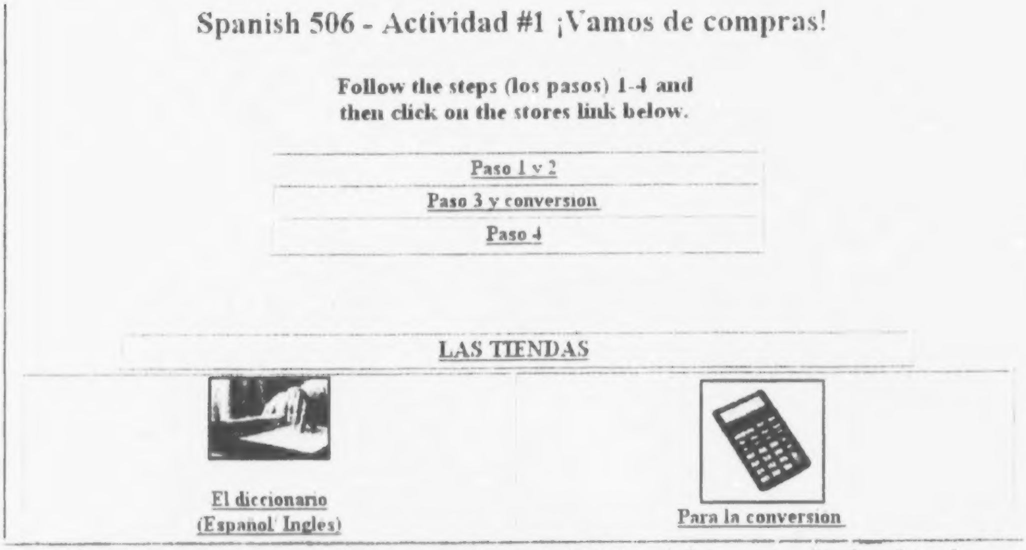
APPENDIX A



Spanish 506 - Actividad #1 ¡Vamos de compras!

Follow the steps (los pasos) 1-4 and then click on the stores link below.

Paso 1 y 2

Paso 3 y conversion

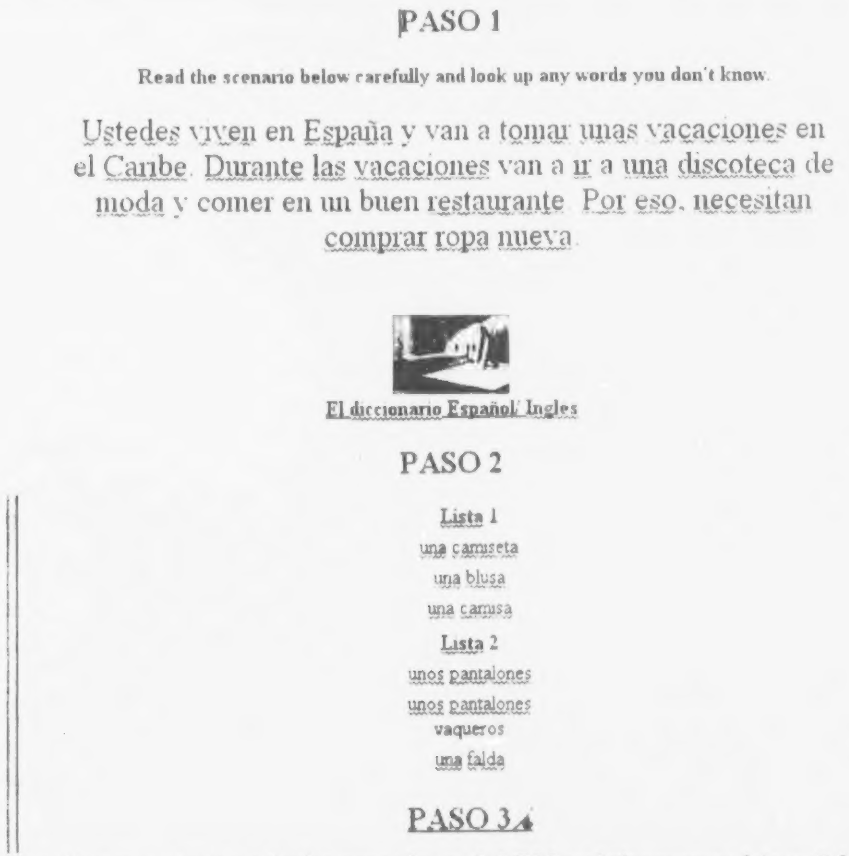
Paso 4

LAS TIENDAS

El diccionario (Español/ Ingles)

Para la conversion

http://www.utexas.edu/courses/spanish506web/compras/index.html



PASO 1

Read the scenario below carefully and look up any words you don't know.

Ustedes viven en España y van a tomar unas vacaciones en el Caribe. Durante las vacaciones van a ir a una discoteca de moda y comer en un buen restaurante. Por eso, necesitan comprar ropa nueva.

El diccionario Español/ Ingles

PASO 2

Lista 1

una camiseta

una blusa

una camisa

Lista 2

unos pantalones

unos pantalones vaqueros

una falda

PASO 3,4

http://www.utexas.edu/courses/spanish506web/compras/step_1.html

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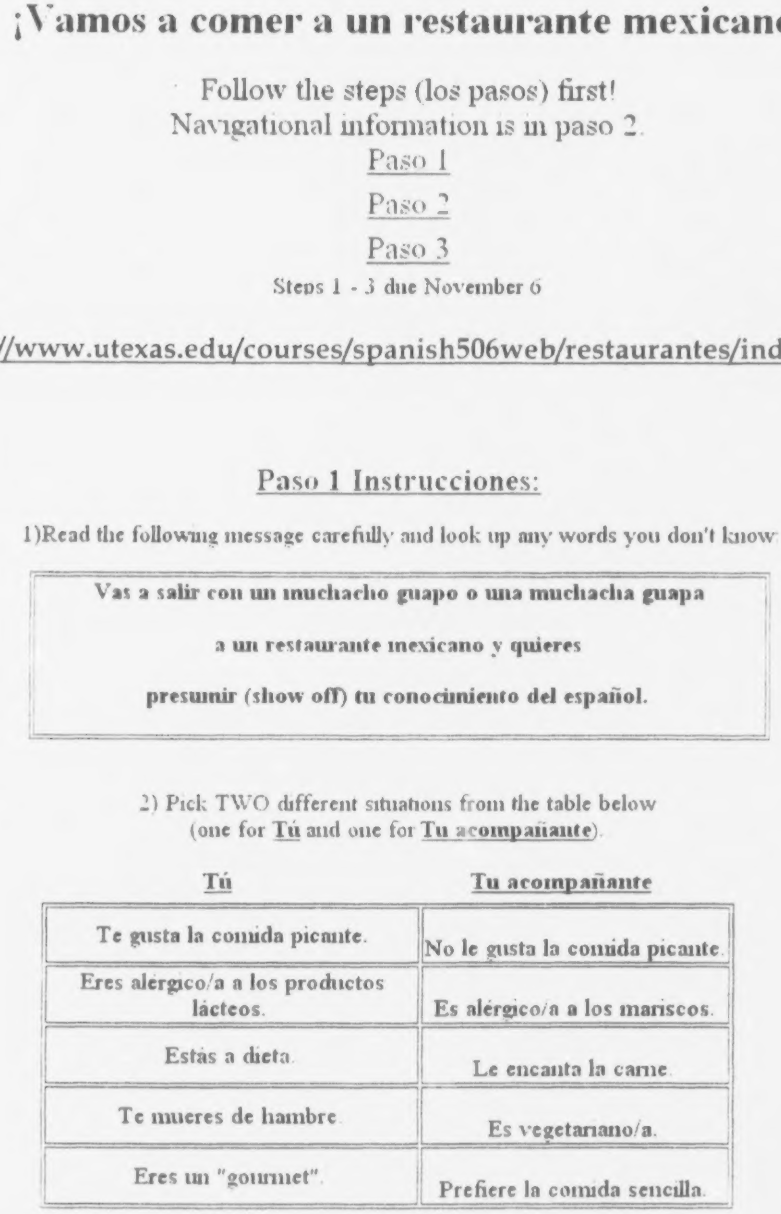
APPENDIX B

WEB LESSON 2



¡Vamos a comer a un restaurante mexicano!

Follow the steps (los pasos) first!
Navigational information is in paso 2.

Paso 1

Paso 2

Paso 3

Steps 1 - 3 due November 6

http://www.utexas.edu/courses/spanish506web/restaurantes/index.html

Paso 1 Instrucciones:

1)Read the following message carefully and look up any words you don't know:

Vas a salir con un muchacho guapo o una muchacha guapa **a un restaurante mexicano y quieres** **presumir (show off) tu conocimiento del español.**

2) Pick TWO different situations from the table below
(one for **Tú** and one for **Tu acompañante**).

Tú	**Tu acompañante**
Te gusta la comida picante.	No le gusta la comida picante.
Eres alérgico/a a los productos lácteos.	Es alérgico/a a los mariscos.
Estás a dieta.	Le encanta la carne.
Te mueres de hambre.	Es vegetariano/a.
Eres un "gourmet".	Prefiere la comida sencilla.

PASO 2

http://www.utexas.edu/courses/spanish506web/restaurantes/pasouno.html

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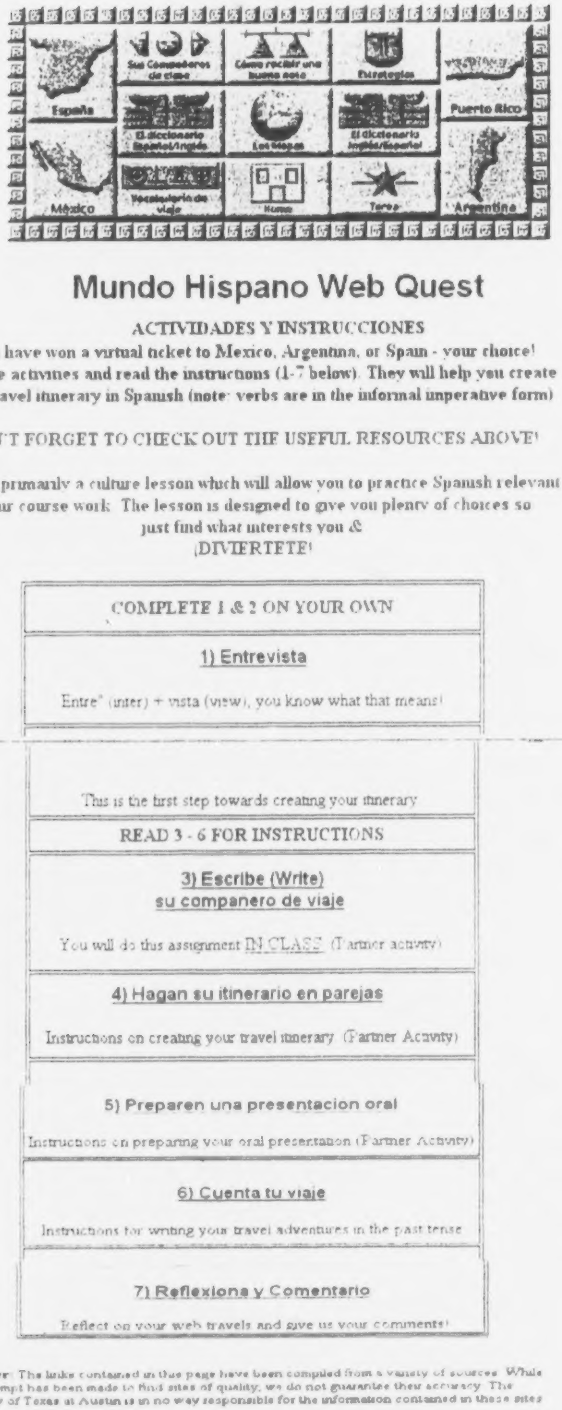
APPENDIX C1


España
Sus Compañeros de clase
Cómo recibir una buena nota
Estrategias
Puerto Rico
El diccionario Español/Inglés
Los Mapas
El diccionario Inglés/Español
México
Vocabulario de viaje
Home
Tarea
Argentina

Mundo Hispano Web Quest

ACTIVIDADES Y INSTRUCCIONES

You have won a virtual ticket to Mexico, Argentina, or Spain - your choice! Do the activities and read the instructions (1-7 below). They will help you create your travel itinerary in Spanish (note: verbs are in the informal imperative form)

DON'T FORGET TO CHECK OUT THE USEFUL RESOURCES ABOVE!

This is primarily a culture lesson which will allow you to practice Spanish relevant to your course work. The lesson is designed to give you plenty of choices so just find what interests you & ¡DIVIERTETE!

COMPLETE 1 & 2 ON YOUR OWN

1) Entrevista

Entre" (inter) + vista (view), you know what that means!

This is the first step towards creating your itinerary

READ 3 - 6 FOR INSTRUCTIONS

3) Escribe (Write)
su companero de viaje

You will do this assignment IN CLASS (Partner activity)

4) Hagan su itinerario en parejas

Instructions on creating your travel itinerary (Partner Activity)

5) Preparen una presentacion oral

Instructions on preparing your oral presentation (Partner Activity)

6) Cuenta tu viaje

Instructions for writing your travel adventures in the past tense

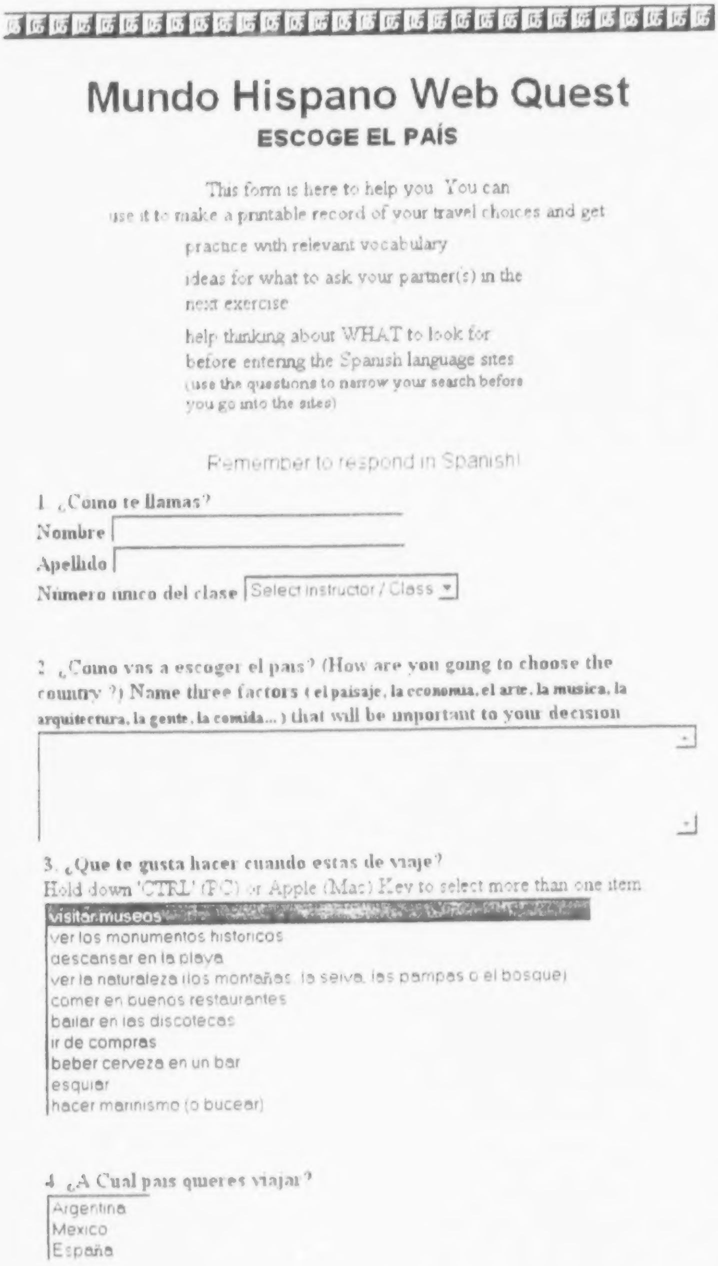
7) Reflexiona y Comentario

Reflect on your web travels and give us your comments!

Disclaimer: The links contained in this page have been compiled from a variety of sources. While every attempt has been made to find sites of quality, we do not guarantee their accuracy. The University of Texas at Austin is in no way responsible for the information contained in these sites

http://www.utexas.edu/courses/spanish506web/mundo/index.html

APPENDIX C2



Mundo Hispano Web Quest

ESCOGE EL PAÍS

This form is here to help you You can
use it to make a printable record of your travel choices and get

practice with relevant vocabulary

ideas for what to ask your partner(s) in the next exercise

help thinking about WHAT to look for before entering the Spanish language sites (use the questions to narrow your search before you go into the sites)

Remember to respond in Spanish!

1. ¿Como te llamas?

Nombre

Apellido

Número unico del clase Select instructor / Class ▾

2. ¿Como vas a escoger el pais? (How are you going to choose the country ?) Name three factors (el paisaje, la economia, el arte, la musica, la arquitectura, la gente, la comida...) that will be important to your decision

3. ¿Que te gusta hacer cuando estas de viaje?

Hold down 'CTRL' (PC) or Apple (Mac) Key to select more than one item

- visitar museos
- ver los monumentos historicos
- descansar en la playa
- ver la naturaleza (los montañas, la selva, las pampas o el bosque)
- comer en buenos restaurantes
- bailar en las discotecas
- ir de compras
- beber cerveza en un bar
- esquiar
- hacer marinismo (o bucear)

4. ¿A Cual pais quieres viajar?

- Argentina
- Mexico
- España

http://www.utexas.edu/courses/spanish506web/mundo/pais.html

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Inquiry Cycles in a Whole Language Foreign Language Class: Some Theoretical and Practical Insights

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The purpose of this article is to explore inquiry cycles as an innovative curricular framework in whole language foreign language classes. Whole language is an educational philosophy that advocates and espouses student-centered, activity-based learning. The inquiry cycle is a holistic method of teaching that is based on a question or a set of questions that students themselves choose to explore. This curricular model, initially developed for elementary monolingual classrooms, includes the following stages: building from the known, taking time to find questions for inquiry, gaining new perspectives, attending to difference, sharing what was learned, planning new inquiries, and taking thoughtful action. A number of different approaches for implementing inquiry cycles are explained, ranging from a full implementation to a partial implementation with curricular engagements only. Furthermore, the authors address a number of possible drawbacks to the technique and present adaptations for using inquiry cycles in foreign language settings, particularly the beginning levels of instruction. Practical implications are outlined for foreign language teachers interested in incorporating this approach to their practice.

INTRODUCTION

Language teaching and learning are complex processes that researchers and teaching professionals have attempted to describe and explain over the years by recourse to a number of philosophical stances such as behaviorism, cognitivism, and social-constructivism. A relatively recent view of language learning that focuses on student-centered, activity-based learning is known as whole language, a philosophy that emphasizes presenting learners with the whole language rather than its isolated parts. Whole language, like other educational philosophies, is manifested in foreign language classes through a variety of approaches, techniques, and methods. The purpose of this article is twofold: first, to outline and discuss language learning and teaching based on a whole language philosophy, and second, to illustrate how inquiry cycles (a holistic teaching approach) can be applied in beginning-level foreign language classes. The authors will provide ideas and examples for different ways of incorporating inquiry cycles into the classroom and explain certain adaptations necessary for the approach to be successful.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF WHOLE LANGUAGE

Many of the underlying principles of holistic philosophies are not new to the field of education. Even at the turn of the century, progressive educators such

ʼey advocated student-centered, activity-based learning (Dewey,
ver, the French psychologist Jean Piaget (1952) contributed theories
ental learning that resulted in a new understanding of learning
ɔllowing along the same philosophical pathways, and garnering
port from the 1970s and 1980s, a gradual paradigm shift away from
uage arts programs toward a holistic stance occurred. According to
r (1989), five areas of research supported this shift:

ırning development: when preschool children experience a language
ıment, they learn language developmentally, rather than through
uction (Goodman, 1986).

ral language development: preschool children learn to speak by
ith significant others around them and they develop their own rule
heir oral language emerges (Lindfords, 1991).

ading development: the work of Goodman, Watson, and Burke (1987)
analysis and the work of Frank Smith (1971), among others,
e that one learns to read texts by reading texts rather than by reading
ırds.

Vriting development: the work of Ferreiro and Téberosky (1982)
tes that children invent their own writing system and constantly try to
te the conventional system of writing.

lternative evaluation: Heald-Taylor (1989) supports a shift away from
ed tests of skills toward qualitative evaluation. Formal tests have a
ɔle aura of objectivity, and there may be better forms of evaluation
scue analysis, portfolios of works, presentations, etc.

ıole language is an educational philosophy. One working definition of
ıguage comes from Lems (1995), who listed nine key principles
l with a whole language approach. According to her, in a whole
class:

The language arts are integrated.
Language is not an end in itself, but a means to an end.
Students are immersed in literacy events.
Students are surrounded by authentic print.
Students learn by doing.
Teachers respect and value each student's unique background,
experience and learning style.
Learning is a collaborative activity.
Students take responsibility for their own learning while teachers
facilitate the learning process.
. Assessment is authentic and appropriate.

\ whole language philosophy can, therefore, be implemented in diverse
ns (e.g., with children or adults, among learners from different cultures,

ıl

and for different languages) without changing the basic philosophical principles that outline the learning processes. According to Goodman et al. (1987), the process of language learning and teaching is very similar across ages and educational contexts. The same basic philosophical ideas associated with whole language, then, can be adapted for use across many different contexts and settings in education.

A number of foreign language teachers and researchers have already integrated whole language concepts into their practice. Barry & Pellissier (1995) utilized a holistic language approach in order to teach popular music in their foreign language class. They concluded that the use of songs enabled the students to encounter language in an authentic context that provided opportunities to understand themes from the target culture that were functional, interesting, and relevant.

Redmond (1994) and Adair-Hauck (1996) likewise incorporated whole language approaches into their foreign language classrooms. Redmond (1994) developed and implemented an instructional unit that applied various whole language strategies to teach basic reading and writing skills in French. She maintains that tasks given to students should be relevant to their world, language activities should build on students' prior knowledge and experience, the four major skills should be integrated, and teachers should avoid using decontextualized instructional materials. Adair-Hauck (1996) described different teachers and how they used a whole language approach in their foreign language classes. Her findings showed that for many foreign language teachers the first step in the creation of a whole language lesson is the selection of an interesting story. Once the story is selected, the whole language unit is organized into three phases: pre-storytelling, storytelling, and post-storytelling. In an earlier study, Adair-Hauck (1993) had found that 90% of the students learning French through a whole language approach said the language was easier to learn by listening to stories.

de Godev (1994) researched the use of dialogue journals in her foreign language class. de Godev introduced dialogue journals into her speaking class to examine the similarities between speaking and writing processes. She concluded that a whole language approach that integrated skills and included a dialogue journal activity helped students to make connections between oral and written language skills.

Louton and Louton (1992) created a whole language foreign language elementary class in which whole contexts, real purposes, and the belief that language was incidental to the purpose were implemented. They assert that in the elementary school setting both the regular classroom teacher as well as the foreign language specialist should work on the same topics in order to create a "real" purpose for their foreign language instruction. Louton and Louton developed units that take into account the natural context of language acquisition in addition to the differences between first language and foreign language acquisition.

WHOLE LANGUAGE: A WORKING DEFINITION

In this paper, we are using Schwarzer's (2001) definition of a successful whole language foreign language class. His work, which stems from and expands upon the work of Lems (1995), is centered on the following eight theoretical principles:

1. Language is learned best when students use authentic materials, for authentic purposes, and with authentic audiences. As Goodman (1991) stated, "Experiences in school must have all the characteristics of authentic experiences outside the school and additional characteristics that are authentic within the social-educational context of the school" (p. 281).

Dissociation between real life settings and school settings is artificial and in most cases does not help students in their learning experiences. In authentic language learning situations, participants predict meaning based on their own comprehension of the situational context (Krashen, 1985). This knowledge can be used as a resource in foreign language instruction.

The way in which students learn a second language may be enhanced by using real life literature such as children's books, short novels, autobiographies, and other reading materials not developed for the language class. These types of literature allow students to rely on their own purposes and goals while learning a second language and taking into consideration the different audiences for student writing.

2. Language is learned best when the whole is taught first and the parts are understood later. As teachers we were taught that complex experiences are difficult to understand, especially by younger students. Therefore, we should divide the complexity of an object of study into simpler parts, presumably making it easier to understand than the whole. According to Barnett (1989), bottom-up models of reading comprehension are essentially "text-driven," where the reader begins by trying to decode letters, words, and sentences, in order to build up comprehension in some type of linear fashion. After the students understand the parts, they should reconstruct the object of study as a whole again.

On the other hand, some researchers have shown that the parts of an object of knowledge and the whole object of knowledge have different characteristics (Ferreiro & Teberosky, 1982). Goodman (1993) further illustrated that reading words in isolation and reading words in texts are two different things, and that many first grade students were able to read words in the stories which they were not able to recognize on a list. Knowing the parts may not necessarily help students to understand the whole completely.

Therefore, in a whole language foreign language class the teacher and students explore holistically the complexity of the whole from the first day of class. Additionally, teachers in whole language classes encourage students to make their own divisions of the whole according to their own developmental understanding.

3. Language is learned best when it is developmentally constructed. Language, as other learning processes, is a developmental process. Learners attempt their own interpretations and hypotheses while they appropriate the new concepts they are trying to learn. These initial attempts and hypotheses are sometimes wrong, resulting in students making mistakes, errors, and miscues. Therefore, errors are an important and valuable part of the learning process (Piaget, 1971), and they should be valued in an environment that encourages risk-taking. As teachers our goal is not to erase the errors, miscues, and mistakes made by our students, but rather to create environments in which the student can develop new miscues, mistakes, and errors that are more advanced and more accurate than the previous ones. When teachers value misconceptions as a source of change, students grow cognitively in an environment that allows them to view both failure and success as learning experiences. Students who learn from their errors will become more comfortable risk-takers than students who are encouraged only to succeed.

4. Language is learned best when it is assessed using alternative methods of assessment. If the language teacher believes that learning language is a process, then the teacher may find one test given at the end of the term to all the students in the class as an inappropriate way to assess their language learning. Instead of simply giving a summative test the language teacher may become a researcher in the language class who attempts to discover how individual learners develop language. Many times teacher/researchers become "kid-watchers" (Wilde, 1996) who record and reflect on oral anecdotes, written drafts, and annotations made about a particular student's development throughout the year. This idea of kid-watching, widely used in primary education, may be incorporated into high school and adult education. The teacher/researcher constantly looks for alternative ways to gather information about students' growth. Many teacher/researchers develop portfolios as a form of alternative assessment in order to showcase students' growth on both process and product.

5. Language is learned best when it is socially constructed. Learning processes should be socially constructed (Goodman, 1992). When a class becomes a community of learners, learning takes place in different social interactions, modes, times, shapes, and formats that maximize the different resources that schools have (e.g., other students in the class and in other classes, other teachers in the school, other people in the school, librarians, secretaries, cooks, etc.). Parents, students' siblings, and knowledgeable members of the community can likewise contribute to significant learning experiences outside of the school setting. Moll's (1992) notion of funds of knowledge is essential in the creation of a language community. Every family has language knowledge that sometimes may not be valued by the school system. However, if we involve students'

families and communities we create environments in which language can flourish. In such an environment, teachers research their own questions in the target language, read their own books and share their own writings, all of which serve to model language learning and inspire students.

6. Language is learned best when different cultures and dialects are explored throughout the curriculum. Learning a new language brings with it a revelation of other cultures. This learning process should be an opportunity for students to reflect on their own cultures and to understand new ones related to the language that they are learning. Students' research and reflection on a foreign language may create opportunities to research and reflect upon their own native languages. This research should enable learners to empower themselves as individuals in a multicultural society (Ruiz, 1991). For example, in the language class students may need to contrast their own assumptions about family, time, politeness, and other culturally constructed notions with the same issues in the target language and culture. This is an opportunity for students to become more critical about their own cultural choices and attitudes toward themselves and toward other minorities in their environments.

7. Language is learned best when it is based on a critical pedagogy. Teaching practices are political (Banks, 1992; Freire & Macedo, 1987). As teachers we make choices for our students in our language classes: what type of language dialects are we going to include in the language class? Are we going to allow the use of the native language? How do we react to errors? How is knowledge constructed in the class? Whatever the answers to these questions are, they imply a political perspective. For example, if when we teach Spanish we prefer the Spanish from Spain over any other dialectical variation, we are making a political statement. On the other hand, if we introduce different dialectical variations to our language class, we make a different type of political statement.

Teaching language and culture also fosters an understanding of bigger socio-political issues such as racism, minority education, gender relations, etc. Teaching Spanish in the southwestern United States is not the same as teaching French in the same region.

8. Language is learned best when students and teachers negotiate the curriculum of the class and when the curriculum is based on students' own inquiries. Learning is the result of negotiations between the parties involved (Short et al., 1991). In real life, this kind of behavior is natural. In a negotiation each party explains his/her perspective and, following the negotiation period, a decision is made. There are certain constraints, however, that the participants involved in the negotiation establish as boundaries of their negotiation. For example, children know very well the boundaries of everyone in the family. They know when to go to their father to ask for something and when to go to their mother. They also know that on certain issues their parents are going to decide what is right for them. Turning again to the education setting, in the same sense, the teacher should be included in the negotiation process. If students

choose developmentally inappropriate materials for their inquiry project, the teacher should be there to guide the students toward more appropriate materials or to help them access information from a resource that is beyond their actual development. In an inquiry-based curriculum, students are encouraged to research their own questions, and they need to have the time to wander and wonder about a theme in order to formulate their own questions instead of starting from questions already formulated by the teacher.

Within this interpretation of a whole language foreign language class (WLFLC), "inquiry cycles" (Short et al., 1996) become a feasible pedagogical option for the foreign language classroom.

INQUIRY CYCLES: A WORKING DEFINITION

The inquiry cycle is a student-centered approach to teaching and learning that begins with students self-selecting or generating a question or set of questions about a topic that interests them. One of the crucial components of the cycle is that students themselves, rather than the teacher, choose the topics that they will research and explore. The student selection of the topic creates a learning environment where the responsibility of learning is placed primarily on the student. The role of the teacher, then, becomes that of a guide, or in many instances a fellow explorer and student. While the inquiry cycle is not linear in nature, the following componential stages often recur in a cyclical pattern:

1. Building from the known: browsing, talking and listening.
2. Taking time to find questions for inquiry: wondering and wandering, experience centers, observing and exploring.
3. Gaining new perspectives: inquiry groups, in-depth researching, tools for inquiry, studio time.
4. Attending to difference: revision on inquiry, learning logs.
5. Sharing what was learned: inquiry presentations.
6. Planning new inquiries: group reflection, reflection portfolios, strategy lessons.
7. Taking thoughtful action: invitation for action.

INQUIRY CYCLES IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION (FLE)

The inquiry cycles curricular model was developed for and has been principally utilized in monolingual elementary settings. The work of Short et al. (1996) on inquiry as curriculum predominantly focuses on the development and implementation of the inquiry cycle in elementary and middle school classes. While the rhetoric of their work seems to indicate that the inquiry cycle is applicable, appropriate, and feasible at many levels of education, Short et al. do not directly address how the cycle would be played out in advanced learning settings such as junior high school, high school, and college. Also missing from the discussion is whether an inquiry cycles approach to learning could be beneficially implemented in ESL (English as a second language) or foreign language classes, particularly at beginning-levels.

Perhaps extended dialogue and actual incorporation of the inquiry cycle into these other education settings has been dissuaded due to the apparent problems that would arise from using the approach. With regard to beginning-level foreign language classes, a number of issues and concerns that merit discussion become immediately evident.

It is presumed that the primary goal of most or all beginning-level foreign language classes is to create an environment wherein students can develop their proficiency in reading, writing, speaking, listening comprehension, and cultural awareness in the target language. Two key ingredients in the linguistic and cultural development of students in an L2 are extensive exposure to the target language and numerous opportunities to communicate and interact in the L2. The role of the target language is evident while that of the native language is much less clear. Use of the native language in foreign language classrooms is a highly debated topic. However, most researchers and scholars would agree that L1 usage in the classroom should be strategically limited, infrequent, or even nonexistent.

Here, then, is the first major obstacle against using inquiry cycles in beginning-level foreign language classes. The use of inquiry cycles necessitates large amounts of interaction, collaboration, and communication among the participants. In all likelihood, beginning foreign language learners will not possess the linguistic repertoire in the target language that would enable them to function efficiently at the levels required by the inquiry cycle. How can students be expected to select a topic of inquiry in the target language if they do not even know the basic vocabulary of that language? How are students going to read and research their topic in the target language if they are essentially illiterate in the L2? Is verbal communication and interaction among students engaged in the discussion of a topic realistic? Will large amounts of time and instruction be necessary just to keep the inquiry cycle boat afloat?

Obviously, the students could operate in this type of language learning environment if they were allowed to use their native language, but would the L1 inhibit or reduce the acquisition of the L2? Will students be allowed to strategically use their L1? Does the low linguistic level of the students necessitate the abandonment or non-adoption of an inquiry cycles approach? The lack of target language linguistic ability is one of the greatest deterrents to implementing the inquiry cycle in beginning-level foreign language classes. There are also other obstacles to be discussed and overcome.

Beginning in middle school and continuing through junior high, high school, and college is the notion that knowledge should be compartmentalized. Different curricular areas are taught by different teachers who have acquired specialized knowledge and skills in a particular area. It is the compartmentalization of knowledge that drives instructors to specialization and development of advanced knowledge and skills in an area of expertise. Since teachers have focused their study and knowledge base, it is believed that they are thus better able to provide in-depth quality instruction. Taking a markedly different stance, Short and Burke (1996) do not see the compartmentalization of knowledge in such a positive light. They see the compartmentalization of knowledge as a failed attempt to shift from traditional classrooms to an integrated curriculum. Essentially what happened was the following:

> classes stayed within what [teachers] already knew, and students were supposed to 'discover' what experts already knew about the topic....Although [the] goal was integrated curriculum, when [teachers] looked closely [they] saw that [the] units compartmentalized knowledge (p. 99).

Strict adherence to the segregation of knowledge bases poses a serious threat to an inquiry cycles approach.

Is the educational system flexible enough, though, to allow teachers to stray too far from their subject area in allowing students to explore and inquire? What about state and national standards for curricula? Teachers are expected to provide instruction so that students meet established requirements and gain specified knowledge. What happens if students are involved in inquiry cycles that do not deal with the issues or knowledge bases of their particular subject areas? Can students' learning be left to chance? Will the inquiry cycle provide all the instruction necessary for teachers to meet the state and national mandates for their subject area? Will the inquiry cycle function in one-hour blocks like regular classes? All of these questions must be appropriately answered before inquiry cycles can ever be systemically implemented.

In beginning-level foreign language classes, how are these questions played out? Can they be adequately answered and can the inquiry cycle be implemented successfully? Obstacles and limitations regarding the implementation of the inquiry cycle in beginning-level foreign language classes do exist, but they are not insurmountable.

Despite the apparent problems, foreign language education is well-suited for an inquiry cycles approach. First of all, curricular standards and guidelines for foreign languages such as Spanish, German, and French are usually quite broad and non-specific in nature, allowing teachers a measure of leeway in developing courses and determining which methods of instruction to employ. A common guideline would suggest that students' learning outcomes would involve improvement in the four basic skills (i.e., reading, writing, speaking, listening) and that they would learn about the target language culture. Second, the content of most beginning-level foreign language classes is basic enough that a number of approaches, including the inquiry cycle, will likely produce the desired results. Present tense verbs, adjective agreement, and articles, for example, are items that can be learned through the inquiry cycle just as well as through a text-based approach or grammar translation method. Third, because many students perceive language learning as distinct from other types of learning, they may be more open to novel ideas and new approaches. The foreign language classroom, then, is a suitable site for the inquiry cycle.

The inquiry cycle offers students in beginning-level language classes a number of benefits. The approach enables students to explore the target language and culture through any content that they choose. Students' learning becomes authentic, personal, and meaningful. The target language becomes more than the topic of inquiry; it becomes the vehicle for inquiry. The inquiry cycle serves to simultaneously improve language and inquiry skills. Functioning within the confines of the cycle enables students to gain new skills and abilities in reading, writing, listening, and speaking, thus fulfilling curricular standards for beginning-level language learners. Finally, research focused on sociocultural aspects of second language acquisition emphasizes the importance of the collaborative interaction that constitutes a major portion of the inquiry cycle. Pair work allows students to mutually scaffold one another while engaged in problem solving (De Guerrero & Villamil, 2000) and the interaction provided by the inquiry cycle enables students to act as experts and novices in their zones of proximal development. Brooks et al. (1997) suggest that just as students need an environment that is input-rich, they also need an environment that is collaboration-rich. This is precisely the type of environment fostered by the inquiry cycle.

DIFFERENT APPROACHES FOR IMPLEMENTATION

A number of options exist for teachers interested in implementing inquiry cycles into their beginning-level foreign language classes. The first option, and perhaps the most difficult, would be to implement the inquiry cycle fully where it would be the theoretical and pedagogical basis of the way the entire class was handled. Another option would be partial implementation, such as initiating mini-inquiry cycles at various times during the course of the semester or dedicating a portion of each class period to an inquiry approach to learning. The third option would be the implementation of specific curricular engagements that focus on student-centered learning and inquiry processes.

For the inquiry cycle to function properly with beginning learners possessing limited linguistic abilities in the target language, a number of adaptations such as checklists, prompts, cue cards, vocabulary lists, and models are needed. Teachers might also think seriously about allowing the students to strategically use their native language until additional, more advanced linguistic abilities are developed. The strategic allowance of the native language will enable students to more successfully and efficiently work through the cycle as individuals and as groups. Many researchers and practitioners are hesitant or even adamantly opposed to the use of the native language in the foreign language class. The use of the native language is in some way seen to inhibit the acquisition of the target language. This stance maintains that students learn the target language "better" when completely immersed and surrounded by it. Research dealing with sociocultural approaches to second language acquisition provides a somewhat different view, illustrating a number of vital roles for L1 in L2 learning situations. The strategic L1 roles highlighted in the research include L1 as a collaborative tool, L1 as a scaffolding tool, L1 as a vehicle for establishing intersubjectivity, and L1 as a psychological tool for regulation and task orientation (Anton & DiCamilla, 1998; de Guerrero & Villamil, 1994; de Guerrero & Villamil, 2000).

Fully implementing an inquiry cycles approach in beginning-level foreign language classes is not be an easy task. The initial days, weeks, and perhaps months may be difficult and frustrating for the teacher and students. It is likely that teachers will feel that students are not making the gains they would in a more "traditional" language class. Students may feel frustrated by the fact that they do not possess the high level linguistic abilities necessary to carry out the inquiry cycle entirely in the target language. At beginning-levels, it is unlikely that the inquiry cycle will function efficiently, but both teacher and students must realize that that is to be expected. An inquiry cycles approach is as much about learning as it is about learning the target language. Students will be engaged in the process of learning the target language through personal inquiry and investigation. A similar model of learning is behind ESL courses designed to provide English through content courses rather than specific ESL classes. In both instances, the goal is to learn a language by using the language for some specific purpose rather than studying it as a disconnected and unrelated entity. The inquiry cycle allows students to learn the target language while they engage in personally fulfilling inquiry.

For teachers who would like to experiment with the inquiry cycles without completely committing themselves, a number of possibilities for partial implementation are available. One possibility would be to introduce the inquiry cycle only after students have been in class for a number of weeks and been taught pertinent vocabulary and skills. A second possibility would be to introduce mini-inquiry cycles a few times during the semester. A third possibility would be to take a portion of class time each day to focus on activities associated with the inquiry cycle and leave the remainder of the time for the regular classroom routines and instruction. Of the three possibilities provided, the third is probably the most feasible and the most desirable. Students who are exposed to the inquiry cycle from the outset of the semester (even if it is for just 10-15 minutes each day) will be more familiar with and operate better in the cycle than those who receive only intermittent exposure a few times during the semester or year.

Another avenue available to teachers is the use of curricular engagements associated with inquiry processes. In their book, Short et al. (1996) provide an extensive list of curricular engagements for the inquiry cycle that can be adapted for use in beginning-level foreign language classrooms. A number of the engagements from a beginning-level Hebrew class are explained below, but for a more comprehensive list, including materials, procedures, and variations, the reader is referred to the original source (Short et al., 1996).

As part of one Hebrew 101 class, students were engaged in a variety of curricular projects. Some students researched the biblical text in its original language. Others wrote letters to family and friends in Israel. Still others wrote travel guides to Israel. Tony and Linda completed a particularly interesting project: a comic book in Hebrew, with a main character named "Super Jew" who looked very much like "Superman." Like "Superman," "Super Jew" tried to save humanity from evil, but unlike "Superman" (who got changed into his costume in a telephone booth), "Super Jew" changed clothes behind a burning bush! The book was extremely entertaining, and all of the students thoroughly enjoyed reading it.

The development of Rachel and Michelle's Travel Guide to Israel, a pamphlet they created, illustrates the power of the inquiry cycle in action. During the first steps of the inquiry cycles, the students in the Hebrew 101 class were immersed in a large amount of authentic written materials ranging from Hebrew children's books to Hebrew basal readers, from restaurant menus in Hebrew to Hebrew magazines and newspapers. The teacher read some of these materials in front of the class. Additionally, some students brought materials they found at the local Jewish community library, at the Hillel foundation, and other mementos they brought back with them from Israel. One of the authentic materials in the class was a bilingual Hebrew-English travel guide used in Israel by the Ministry of Tourism. Michelle and Rachel started to ask questions about the travel guide: What does an Israeli travel guide look like? Do the guides have only one format or several formats? Are all travel guides bilingual English/Hebrew? After looking very closely at their only travel guide, they decided to send a letter to the local Israeli consulate. They wrote a letter using both Hebrew and English asking for travel guides to the different cities in Israel. After two weeks, they received a few travel guides to different cities in the country and some travel guides designed for tourists interested in touring the whole country.

The next step was to decide what their travel guide of Israel would look like. They decided to create a monolingual Hebrew tourist guide to Israel based on the format provided by one of the travel guides received from the consulate. The basic format was a weekly vacation plan designed for a seven day vacation on a daily basis: Day 1-2: Jerusalem and its surroundings, Day 3: the Dead Sea. They decided to use their own photographs from their trip to Israel in order to illustrate the travel guide.

At this point in the inquiry cycle of the entire class, Rachel and Michelle presented their preliminary idea to other members of the class in a group discussion. At the same time, the other students in the group presented information on the inquiries they had been pursuing. Before this discussion took place, the teacher provided students with cue cards including several basic sentences and words used in discussions in Hebrew such as: 'I liked it because...,' 'I did not like it because...,' 'I think that the best point in your inquiry is...,' 'I think that you should change...,' 'Did you consider...?'

After the discussion took place, Michelle and Rachel had time to reflect on which changes they were willing to implement based on the feedback that they received from their fellow students. They wrote a second draft of their work based on the feedback. It is important to note that not all the recommendations made by the other members of the group were included in the final draft. After writing the final draft with the help of various resources (the Hebrew travel guides received from the consulate, a Hebrew-English dictionary, the other students in the group, and the teacher), Rachel and Michelle wrote their final draft of their travel guide.

The final product was a poster-like travel guide that was presented to the whole class. During the presentation, students asked questions about the decisions that Michelle and Rachel had made throughout the entire inquiry cycle process. Why is the travel guide monolingual? Why is it so big? How do you know how many days you should stay at each location? Clearly, Rachel and Michelle were able to use different semiotic systems to communicate their findings (pictures, drawings, maps, etc.). This is one of the strengths of the inquiry cycle in a foreign language.

Rachel and Michelle also discussed with the teacher some of the new questions that had arisen from their initial inquiry about travel guides in Israel: Why do all the travel guides seem to be bilingual? Why is there no standard transliteration of Hebrew cities (Kfar Saba – Qfar Sabah)? What is the most common length of travel for most tourists going to Israel?

Finally, Michelle and Rachel decided to make a copy of their travel guide available to future Hebrew classes so others would be able to plan their Israeli experiences in advance. Throughout this experience, both Michelle and Rachel seemed to be very motivated since they were sharing with the class something that was personal and important to them, and they used Hebrew as a means toward an end (Schwarzer, 2001).

As part of the negotiation of the curriculum, students should be encouraged to think about ideas and projects to be developed during a period of two or more weeks (Short et al., 1991). Some students may develop projects that continue over time. One particular requirement for every curricular engagement is to find a way to show and share the results with the class. Many different forms could be used including presentations, listening to audiotapes, posters, or lessons to the whole class. Students should be encouraged to present not only their final project but also their early drafts to the language teacher. By doing so, teachers may gain more opportunities to engage in meaningful language interactions and guidance. Having students turn in a draft of the presentation one week in advance may offer the teacher the opportunity to mediate (Vygotsky, 1978) students' work. Very short inquiry cycles and very long inquiry cycles are problematic, and thus it is recommended to encourage students to develop inquiry cycles or curricular engagements that are two or three weeks long.

Inquiry cycles can become an important activity in a foreign language class. Students develop language as a means toward an end and not as an end in itself (Schwarzer, 1996). It is important to share the projects in the WLFLC in order to develop a community of learners.

Ways for teachers to implement the inquiry cycle in beginning-level foreign language classes do exist. Some ideas have been mentioned here, and many others are possible. Implementing the inquiry cycle in beginning-level foreign language classrooms will not be an easy task for the students due to the low levels of linguistic ability in the target language and their unfamiliarity with the approach itself. Teachers and students are encouraged not to give up on the cycle, but continue to work with the framework. Students will gain target language skills, but more importantly they will gain inquiry skills that will allow them to take control of themselves and their learning.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FLE TEACHER

The above discussion highlighted various obstacles to overcome when incorporating the inquiry cycle into a beginning-level foreign language classroom. The mere existence of obstacles, however, does not necessarily mean that the inquiry cycle should not or cannot be used. It simply means that the inquiry cycle must be adapted and used judiciously. Individual classroom teachers will have to make decisions about their students, their classes, and their uses of the inquiry cycles.

An important point to reiterate is that studies in second language acquisition have repeatedly shown that for language acquisition to occur, students need large amounts of comprehensible input and also opportunities to communicate in the target language. The use of the inquiry cycle must provide students with those types of activities and opportunities. The goals and objectives of the class cannot be sacrificed simply to employ the cycle. If the inquiry cycle seems to require too much native language use, then perhaps the teacher should look for other ways to implement the cycle or refrain from using it in the class. With watchful care, though, the authors believe that the inquiry cycle can be used without any detrimental effects to students' L2 development, even in beginning-level classes. The inquiry cycle is not a panacea or "the" method for language instruction. It is but another option for educators concerned about maximizing their students' learning experiences.

In addition to implementing the inquiry cycle in beginning-level classes, teachers of foreign languages at more advanced levels should research and consider the possibility of a curricular and pedagogical shift in their classes in order to use the cycle. The inquiry cycle would be excellent for language learners at more advanced levels because it has all the components necessary for intermediate and advanced language learners to be inquirers and at the same time to expand their second language skills and knowledge. For learners at more advanced levels, the linguistic demands of the inquiry cycle are less problematic.

Little research has been done to implement and document the inquiry cycle in any foreign language classes or in middle and upper levels of education. This paper suggests that the inquiry cycle can be employed and that it will yield positive results. Obviously, further research and the actual implementation of the inquiry cycle in beginning-level and other foreign language classes are necessary to support and substantiate the claims made herein.

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Task-sequencing in L2 Acquisition

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The meaning versus form (or fluency versus accuracy) debate is no longer a discriminating factor among teaching approaches because meaning and form are assumed to be essential for learning (e.g., Long, 1991; Long & Robinson, 1998). A successful pedagogical task: (a) focuses students' attention on the structure of the language by demonstrating that language form contributes to meaning, and (b) motivates learners to heighten the complexity of the linguistic means they use to accomplish task objectives. In the present paper I argue that a successful task sequence leads learners to: (a) communicate with limited resources, (b) become aware of apparent limitations in their knowledge about linguistic structures that are necessary to convey the message appropriately and accurately, and finally, (c) look for alternatives to overcome such limitations. I will analyze the above-mentioned theoretical claim with a description of teaching and learning tasks across four dimensions represented by the "four eyes": involvement, inquiry, induction and incorporation.

INTRODUCTION

Recent descriptions of task-based instruction incorporate a focus on language form in order to overcome the deficiencies of models that devote exclusive attention to language content (e.g., Long, 1985; Skehan, 1998). In this respect, task-based approaches face two major theoretical challenges: the sequencing of task difficulty and the sequencing of target linguistic structures within the context of a communicative syllabus. Several recent task-based proposals comment extensively on the sequencing of tasks according to methodological considerations related to task implementation: degrees of negotiation of meaning, difficulty, planning, etc. (e.g., Johnson, 1996; Skehan, 1998; Willis, 1996). On the other hand, the incorporation of developmental sequences of the language system has been addressed in a more circuitous way. For instance, to avoid the explicit identification and sequencing of linguistic factors Skehan advocates two principles of task design: target a range of structures instead of a single one and use the criterion of utility of use of the target structures instead of the criterion of necessity (but see Pienemann, 1985 for problems with the former and Loschky & Bley-Vroman, 1993 for problems with the latter). In this paper I will describe the pedagogical implementation of tasks that focus on a particular grammatical feature: Spanish past tense verbal morphology. The choice of inflectional morphology as a case study is useful because the use of past tense verbal endings incorporates a wide range of levels of linguistic analysis (i.e., morphology, syntax, semantics, and discourse). Furthermore, there is now a substantial amount of theoretical analysis and empirical evidence that provides us with reasonable assumptions for the creation of pedagogical tasks that take into account possible stages of development that can be incorporated into a task-based pedagogical program (see Bardovi-Harlig, 2000; Salaberry, 2000).

A TASK-BASED SYLLABUS

There are various definitions that focus on the different components that make up a task. Among the earliest conceptualizations, Long (1985) foresaw the relevance of communicative demands and claimed that a task is "... a piece of work undertaken for oneself or for others, freely or for some reward ... by "task" is meant the hundred and one things people do in everyday life, at work, at play, and in between" (p. 89). Long's definition is, however, quite general and does not directly address the particular constraints of classroom-based interactions (i.e., What are the rewards of language practice? Who determines the goal of in-class language use?). Nunan (1989) acknowledges the special nature of classroom-based interaction defining a task as "a piece of classroom work which involves learners in comprehending, manipulating, producing or interacting in the target language while their attention is principally focused on meaning rather than form" (p. 59).

It is important to mention, however, that tasks are not devoid of socially-dependent structural constraints that can be assessed when language is visualized as a contextualized human artifact. Hence, Swales (1990) points out that tasks need to be visualized as "...sequenceable goal-directed activities...relatable to the acquisition of pre-genre and genre skills appropriate to a foreseen or emerging sociorhetorical situation" (p. 76). Finally, Skehan (1998) underlines the importance of the implementation phase of a learning task. Skehan points out that there should be a clear set of criteria to assess the outcomes of task requirements in a classroom task "...task completion has some priority; the assessment of the task is in terms of outcome...etc." (p. 95). In sum, a task is a socially constrained pedagogical activity that is measured in terms of a communicative outcome. As such, the implementation of the activity focuses students' attention on meaning first, but allows for the incidental shift of attention to the manipulation of linguistic form as needed. The latter will be the focus of attention of this paper.

Sequencing: The Planned-Contingent Paradox

As early as 1985, Long made a cogent case for the use of tasks in second language learning. Long claimed that a task can be successfully used as the basic unit that makes up a course syllabus intended for classroom teaching. For that purpose, Long considered for his analysis a classification of syllabi into two superordinate categories: a synthetic syllabus represented by the gradual accumulation of parts of a whole, and an analytic syllabus organized in terms of purposes without linguistic interference or control. Synthetic syllabi were archetypally instantiated in the teaching methods of the 60s and 70s: grammar translation, audiolingualism, total physical response (TPR), the Silent Way, etc. These types of programs provide what Long defines as a focus on formS (as opposed to a focus on form: see below). As for the analytic syllabus, Long divided it into two sub-categories. The first type provides a strong focus on meaning, as is the case of the popular communicative-based approaches of the 80s (e.g. Krashen and Terrell's natural approach, and various types of immersion programs). The second type, while still emphasizing an overall communicative approach provides, in contrast, an explicit focus on form. By definition, a focus on form is contingent upon structural demands of the communicative situation as opposed to a syllabus that has a pre-determined focus on a range of linguistic formS (forms that may or may not be immediately necessary to accomplish a communicative event). Possible instantiations of an analytic syllabus with a focus on form are what can be vaguely defined as task-based programs (including the more radical process syllabus in which students make up the syllabus along with the instructor).

In principle, the contingent nature of a focus on form does not allow for the planning or sequencing of presentation and/or practice of specific linguistic structures. Johnson (1996), however, analyzed several alternatives for the sequencing of grammatical structures. For the purpose of this paper I will analyze a modified version of Johnson's paradigm that results in three types of possible syllabi (as opposed to the five types presented by Johnson). The following diagram presents a schematic view of the sequential focus of attention on various aspects of the target language. As I understand it, Johnson equates the focus on a particular linguistic structure as a part of the whole linguistic system.

A. part-1 → whole → part-2 → whole → part-3 → whole → …
B. whole → part-1 → whole → part-2 → whole → part-3 →
C. whole → part-3 → part-2 → whole → part-3 →whole → whole[1]

The first sequencing type (A) is representative of a focus on formS approach: target items (part-1, part-2, etc.) are selected, isolated and sequenced in a pre-established manner. That is, these target language forms are presented, analyzed, and practiced before they are functionally needed in a contextualized communicative situation. One of the principal tenets of this approach to sequencing is that learners supposedly will be able to master and control specific items of the target language before their use in context is required. Hence, errors may, in principle, be avoided.[2] The sequences represented in (B) and (C) constitute possible models of task-based instruction (according to the definition

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[1] Notice that part -1 is not listed given that it is a possibility because there is no sequentiality to the process of focusing on target grammatical items.

[2] It is questionable, however, that learners will be able to avoid natural developmental errors as soon as the constraints on language production are removed and students try to use the language as a whole. This is a common phenomenon represented in teachers' frustrations when students seem to control one form as soon as it is presented but forget (how) to use them immediately after.

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given above). Both models are based on the use of language as a means to an end (accomplishment of a communicative task). The second type (B) is representative of an approach that focuses on meaning as a whole first. The focus on the grammatical item comes afterwards, but the selection of the specific grammatical components may be arbitrary as is the case of the sequence described above in (A). The last type of syllabus (C) differs from (B) in that the focus on form may happen at any given point in time during the learning process. In principle, this entails that either the learner or the instructor decides when to focus on form and on what items to focus. Table 1 presents a summary of the main features of each pedagogical sequence.

Table 1 Features of each pedagogical sequence

Sequence	Syllabus content	Syllabus type	focus on
A	Grammatical	pre-planned	formS
B	task-based	pre-planned	form(S)
C	task-based	interactive	form

As we can see, the main difference between the second and third sequence is that the former can be equated with a (pre-)planned syllabus and the latter with an interactive one based on learners' needs and demands. It could be argued that type (C) is more conducive to a focus on form, although this may be a matter of degree. In essence, these two sequences underline the importance of two crucial components of a complete pedagogical approach to second language teaching (Richards & Lockart, 1996). In more concrete terms, we can say that sequence (B) is represented in textbooks where we find a pre-determined order (by nature of the constraints that textbook authors face), whereas sequence (C) is represented by the locally-based decisions based on the interactions between instructor and students on a day-to-day basis.

It is important to mention a relevant caveat about the concept of a focus on form: the term task, as defined as a meaningful activity, may be ambiguous. Skehan (1998) argues that "... the two underlying characteristics of tasks, avoidance of specific structures and engagement of worthwhile meanings, are matters of degree, rather than being categorical" (p. 96). One reason for this is obvious: learners and teachers may not be interested or focused on the same features of the target language. Moreover, it is fair to say that not all students would be traversing the same developmental stage at the same time. Long & Robinson (1998) point out that "... [the] teachers' intended pedagogical focus and students' actual attentional focus often differ substantially" (p. 24). To make matters more complex, Aljaafreh and Lantolf (1994) argue that pedagogical "help should ... be offered only when it is needed, and withdrawn as soon as the novice shows signs of control and ability to function independently" (p. 468). The latter proposal embodies a learner-centered approach to language learning with the obvious corollary, as I understand it, that the analysis of language form itself may be established as the goal of any specific pedagogical task. That is to say, we may reverse the order of analysis normally attributed to the canonical definition of a task: a focus on meaning first followed up by a focus on form may become a sequence in which the focus on form appears first. In other words, three major components define a focus on form of a task-based approach: (a) it can be generated by the teacher or the learner(s), (b) it is generally incidental (occasional shift of attention) and, (c) it is contingent on learners' needs (triggered by perceived problems)(see Long, 1991).

The Communication-Learning Paradox

The apparently amorphous nature of a focus on meaning or a focus on form raises an important issue that needs to be addressed by any pedagogical approach that intends to make a connection between these two components. Indeed, beginning with Krashen and Terrell several researchers have described in different ways what amounts to be a paradox of second language learning: the communication-learning paradox. Klein's (1986) depiction of the problem is very compelling:

> In some respects, communication and learning are at variance...communication is based on a set of stable rules which the learner, as speaker and listener, can follow. As a learner, however, he must not consider the rules he is following at the time to be stable: he must be prepared to control, to revise and even to drop them. (p. 147)

The studies from the European Science Foundation (e.g., Dietrich, Klein & Noyau, 1995; Klein & Purdue, 1992) in particular, provide a wealth of evidence from a variety of languages to substantiate the existence of this paradox with respect to the development of verbal endings. Most of these studies point to the incomplete nature of the L2 systems of many so-called natural learners. These learners can function in their normal interaction in the target language but, for some reason or another, do not strive to make their language conform to the norms of the L2 (at least not to the extent that native speakers do). Under the assumption that what focuses these "natural" learners on the manipulation of language is a functional-communicative objective; it may not be necessary, after all, to make the L2 system more complex or more accurate as long as one has access to a system with which one can efficiently achieve concrete communicative objectives in the target language.

For the above-mentioned reason, it has been claimed that the implementation of pedagogical tasks should be based on constraints inherent to a communicative interaction that affect noticing (Schmidt & Frota, 1986). This is one area in which academic environments may excel over natural environments as a focus on form may not be readily available in the natural environment.[3] Long and Robinson (1998) claim that a "... focus on form often consists of an occasional shift of attention to linguistic code features--by the teacher and/or one or more students--triggered by perceived problems with comprehension or production" (p. 23). There are, to be sure, several factors that have been claimed to have an effect on the process of learning, especially during the stage when the learner seizes upon one particular feature of the target language heretofore unnoticed. For instance, Schmidt (1990) lists the following factors: (a) task demands, (b) frequency, (c) saliency of the feature, (d) individual skills and strategies, and (e) expectations created by the native language (see also Harley, 1989). Skehan (1998) classifies these factors into several categories: (a) input qualities (frequency & saliency), (b) focused input (instruction, selective tasks), (c) task demands on processing resources, and (d) internal factors (readiness, individual differences). I have reassessed the effect of the above-mentioned factors from the point of view of the interaction between teachers and learners (see Table 2).

Table 2 Factors that affect noticing: a reassessment

Roles & Data	**Factors**
(a) Teacher	(1) Explicit instruction (2) Task demands (3) Register-Format (e.g., spoken/written)
(b) Learner	(1) Learner's goals/objectives (2) Stage of development (3) Processing style/ Processing strategy
(c1) Language features	(1) Frequency (2) Saliency (semantic/perceptual)
(c2) Language structure	(1) Vocabulary (2) Phonology/Phonetics (3) Morphosyntax (4) Discourse (5) Pragmatics/speech acts (6) Sociolinguistics

Table 2 classifies the different factors that have an effect on noticing according to the effect that the interactants (i.e., teacher and learner) and the language data have on the process of language acquisition. The subcategory language structure refers to specific components of the language that teacher and learner will focus on at any given point in time. The subcategory language features refers to the characteristics that make certain pieces of language easier to process. The relationship of the two players and the data is depicted in graphical format in Figure 1.[4]

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[3] Of course, this contrast is categorical and does not take into account a middle ground in which the positive features of each environment are combined. But, as we discussed above, that is the goal of a task-based approach as defined in the first section of this paper.

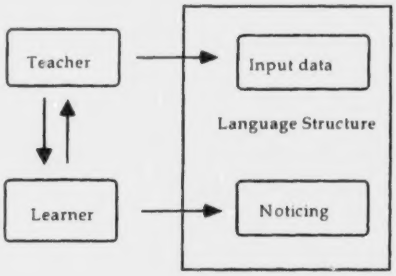

Figure 1 An *instructor's view* of the L2 pedagogical framework

By definition, the teacher has the prerogative of selecting and manipulating the so-called "input data" along the lines of the factors identified in Table 1. That is to say, the teacher has the option of selecting a theme, the form of presentation of a selected piece (e.g., oral versus written), the length of the piece, the task objectives (e.g., identify ideas, summarize), etc. To some extent then, the instructor may control the focus of attention of the learner through the manipulation of various task constraints and task objectives that are measured by task outcomes (see Skehan, 1998). The teacher does not, however, have the ability to directly control what the learner notices because there are other factors that are internal to the learner that are not amenable to such direct manipulation. For that reason Figure 1 depicts noticing and input data as two separate boxes, that can, nevertheless be connected. Thus, this particular framework places a lot of emphasis on language acquisition as a collaborative process that neither teachers nor textbook writers can directly control.

Task Sequencing: Four Eyes are Better than Two

In sum, the pedagogical framework of a communicatively-oriented task-based syllabus with a focus on form requires that communication requirements be established first. This framework enables teachers to lead learners to: (a) communicate with limited resources, (b) become aware of apparent limitations in their knowledge about linguistic structures that are necessary to convey the message appropriately and accurately, and (c) look for alternatives to overcome such limitations. This sequence focuses students' attention on the structure of the language by demonstrating that each component of language as a whole contributes to the meaning that makes up any type of interaction. This sequence may also increase the chances that learners will attempt to heighten the complexity of the linguistic means by which they communicate because it focuses them on the natural/meaningful relationship between communicative tasks and grammar analysis.

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[4] Figure 1 is not intended to be a comprehensive representation of the L2 acquisition process, but rather a very schematic view of the possibilities afforded by the interaction between learners, teacher and the data they have access to.

This pedagogical sequence may be implemented in four stages represented by the "four eyes" (for mnemonic retrieval): Involvement, Inquiry, Induction and Incorporation. This sequence is based on the concept of the three Is (Illustration, Interaction, and Induction) proposed by McCarthy (1998) to replace the traditional pedagogical model based on the three Ps (Presentation, Practice and Production). In the proposed revision I include a preliminary stage (in keeping with the promotion of a student-centered approach) that highlights the need for students to become stakeholders in the learning process (involvement). The second stage (inquiry) underlines further the importance of analysis of language form from the student's point of view within the context of a communicative environment. It is important to underline, however, that inquiry can be promoted with activities that require outright language production (see Salaberry, 1997). Induction is similar to what McCarthy proposes and is here defined as the development of hypotheses about the structure and functions of the target language. Finally, incorporation calls for the assimilation of knowledge about the new language features in a manner productive to the overall L2 system. I additionally propose that this framework for learners be correlated to a set of processes for teachers, given that an academic environment, by definition, relies on a guided process where an expert guides a novice. The correlation of stages that corresponds to teachers and students is depicted in Table 3.

Table 3 Four stages represented by the "four eyes"

Teacher		Learner
1. Introduction of topic	← →	1. Involvement
2. Illustration	← →	2. Inquiry
3. Implementation	← →	3. Induction
4. Integration	← →	4. Incorporation

Thus, learners first develop the motivation to participate in a task (involvement). Part of this involvement is generated by the teacher's introduction to the topic. Then, teachers illustrate particular features of the target language in context, thereby helping learners focus on relevant components of the language (inquiry). It should be pointed out, however, that inquiry as a process will, in most cases, be initiated by the students (again I emphasize the learner-centered perspective). Later a process of induction follows until knowledge of newly acquired features of the language are actively incorporated to the rest of the evolving L2 system. Teachers accompany the last two stages of the process in an active manner (implementation of necessary activities, integration of selected features to the overall linguistic system). This process will be exemplified in the next section with a task intended to focus on the discursive nature of past tense morphology in Spanish. The design of the tasks to be described is based on findings from two major areas of research: (a) the role of discursive factors (foreground versus background) and verb types (lexical aspect) (e.g., Andersen & Shirai, 1996; Dietrich et al., 1995; Salaberry, 2000), and (b) the effect of learning setting (e.g., Buczsowska & Weist, 1991; Pienemann, 1985).

An Example: Movie and Personal Narratives

The selected topic that provides the thematic framework for this task is the one of movie and personal narratives. These narratives differ, crucially, in the use of present and past tense. Thus, they constitute an ideal "carrier" for learners to develop hypotheses about the discursive and contextualized use of present versus past endings. During the first stage the implementation of activities is intended to (re)activate background knowledge and schemas about the social activity represented in the general theme (involvement). For this particular topic, the task may require students to rate various movie reviews written by movie critics on a scale from the most positive to the most negative. A focus on language form is by and large avoided to encourage learners to focus their attention on meaning as, after all, the objective is to reactivate thematic background knowledge. For instance, the task may be designed so that students understand the opinion of the movie critic through an efficient use of selected salient linguistic cues such as the authors' selection of adjectives, information in the title of the review, content of opening and concluding paragraphs only. In general, at this stage the instructor remains unconcerned about linguistic accuracy as long as the overall communicative "transaction" is accomplished.[5]

The second stage in the process focuses the learner on producing a movie narrative (inquiry). This type of narrative event is normally recounted in present tense (e.g., Fleischmann, 1991; Klein, 1994); thus, it justifies the functional use of present instead of past tense. For this step, one may, for instance, read the movie narrative and ask students to identify the events that make up the plot of the story (in the form of infinitives). Later on, students may be asked to separate the main events of the story from the ones that represent accessory information (i.e., recognition of foreground-background events). Immediately after, students may be asked to reconstruct the story in writing with the information they have available. Some of the lexical information used at this stage may eventually be recycled in the narrative presented in the subsequent stage. The focus here is on building lexical knowledge through a reactivation of a variety of verbal predicates presented in a linguistic form already familiar to students.

During the third stage, learners are introduced to a personal narrative. The latter, in contrast with the movie narrative, is normally recounted in past tense (e.g., Blyth, 1997; Fleischmann, 1991; Klein, 1994). Thus, it justifies the functional use of past as opposed to present tense. For this stage, learners may be asked to complete a listening comprehension task that requires them to place the pictures that depict the main or foreground events of the movie plot in the right order. Soon after, the students listen to the tape again to take note of as many plot events as they can write down (while the tape is being played) to be able to reconstruct the plot sequence in its entirety (along with background events). The latter is a modified version of the dictogloss technique (Wajnrib, 1990) that is ideal to introduce students to the third stage: induction. It is crucial to note that at this stage learners are being asked to produce a narrative in the target language before having been exposed to a teacher-led explanation on the formal features of past tense verbal endings (the first P in the traditional PPP syllabus). To ensure proper completion of this task, various verb types used in the narratives presented in the previous step in their present tense form may now be presented in their past tense form (reliance on the lexical base previously developed). Additionally, the task outcome requires students to focus on a meaningful objective to make sure all events are accounted for. A focus on form is, nevertheless, a contingent aspect of this process that may be addressed as needed. What we will not encounter within this framework is a direct explanation of past tense endings (at least not yet). During the debriefing stage students may be given the actual script that was read to them so that they can compare it to their transcription. The latter step is crucial in the process as it ensures that the hypotheses about language form entertained by the students may now be verified, validated, modified, or rejected against the data from the transcript. At this stage the learner is in control of the learning process (a learner-centered approach).

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[5] Again, the above mentioned activities may require production of language from the beginning.

During the fourth and last stage, students are asked to produce their own movie scripts (incorporation). For instance, they can be asked to write a dialogue for a series of (scrambled) pictures that recount a possible witness account of an event parallel to the one described in the movie plot from the previous step. Whatever the theme of the scene, the goal is for the students to reconstruct the scene and act it out (i.e., learners are encouraged to maintain a communicative focus by requiring a concrete task outcome). The expected outcome of the improvised play can be measured against several possible variables (e.g., originality, acting, etc.). This last step requires more language production that allows for another round of hypothesis testing (or hypothesis confirmation).

CONCLUSION

In the previous sections I summarized the basic tenets of a task-based pedagogical approach, and I have also provided a rather sketchy description of a pedagogical activity that attempts to be an implementation of a task-based sequence that describes the "four eyes" for experts and novices (teachers and learners). The activity described also incorporates some of the findings that are apparent from recent research on the development of past tense verbal endings. In this activity, linguistic structures that are not yet part of the learners' competence are first highlighted in communicative tasks, thereby providing students with a rationale for learning the target grammar elements in keeping with the tenets of a task-based approach. Subsequently, learners are provided with the time to develop and test hypotheses about the selected feature of the target language. Finally, learners are encouraged to incorporate their newly acquired views on the language system in a productive and integrated way.

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Knowledge of English Collocations: An Analysis of Taiwanese EFL Learners

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This research investigated Taiwanese EFL students' knowledge of English collocations and the collocational errors they made. The subjects were 60 students from a college in Taiwan. The research instrument was a self-designed Simple Completion Test that measured the subjects' knowledge of four types of lexical collocations: free combinations, restricted collocations, figurative idioms, and pure idioms. The results indicated that, for the subjects, free combinations created the least amount of difficulty, whereas pure idioms were the most challenging. Additionally, they performed about equally well on restricted collocations and figurative idioms. In general, the subjects' deviant answers demonstrated their insufficient knowledge of English collocations. It is concluded that EFL learners' errors in collocations can be attributed to negative L1 transfer.

INTRODUCTION

Research in the field of TESL/TEFL (teaching English as a second/foreign language) has recognized collocational knowledge as a crucial part of phraseological competence in English (Fontenelle, 1994; Herbst, 1996; Lennon, 1996; Moon, 1992). The syntagmatic relations of a lexical item help define its semantic range and the context where it appears. Awareness of the restrictions of lexical co-occurrence can facilitate ESL/EFL learners' ability to encode language (Nattinger, 1989; Seal, 1991). It also enables them to produce sentences that are grammatically and semantically acceptable. They thus can conform to the expectations of academic writing or speech communication (Bahns, 1993; Bahns & Eldaw, 1993; Farghal & Obiedat, 1995; Granger, 1998).

Research on ESL/EFL learners' vocabulary development has mainly focused on the knowledge and production of individual lexical items. In contrast, researchers have devoted scant attention to knowledge of collocations. As Bahns and Eldaw indicated in an empirical study (1993), EFL students did not acquire collocational knowledge while acquiring vocabulary. Instead, their collocational proficiency tended to lag far behind their vocabulary competence. Among the small number of studies on learners' performance in English collocations, the majority have observed the difficulty of learners whose native languages are similar to English. Investigations of the collocational knowledge of learners who have a very different linguistic system—for example, Chinese or Japanese—remain scarce. Research on the difficulty that learners from different L1 backgrounds encounter in acquiring English collocations would prove valuable and would enable teachers to identify effective ways of promoting phraseological competence in their learners.

LITERATURE REVIEW

To obtain a holistic picture of the issues related to the acquisition of English collocations by ESL/EFL learners, this section reviews the literature on the topics of (a) the categorization of collocations, (b) factors influencing ESL/EFL learners' performance in collocations, and (c) learners' strategies in dealing with collocations.

Categorization of Collocations

Some sequences of lexemes can co-occur due to an individual speaker's choice of words, but others appear in a predictable way. When the co-occurrence of lexical items has a certain degree of mutual predictability, the sequence of these items is considered a collocation (Cruse, 1991; Jackson, 1989). As Crystal (1995) has pointed out, the collocation of particular lexemes is not necessarily based on the subject's knowledge of the world. Rather, what is required for one item to attract another is, to some extent, dependent on the intuitive understanding of a native speaker. The predictability of certain word combinations can be weak; for instance, *dark* is an item with a diverse range of collocates. In contrast, an item such as *rancid* tends to have strong predictability because it can collocate with only two or three items. Researchers generally agree that different types of collocations should be placed on a continuum (Fontenelle, 1994; Herbst, 1996; Howarth, 1998a; Nattinger & DeCarrico, 1992; Palmer, 1991). They indicate that, simply by relying on the meanings of collocational constituent elements, it is hard to draw a clear distinction between collocations that are either predictable or not.

As far as the dividing points on the continuum are concerned, researchers have yet to reach an agreement. Nonetheless, the criteria for categorizing different types of word combinations basically include semantic transparency, degree of substitutability, and degree of productivity (Carter, 1987; Howarth, 1998b; Nattinger & DeCarrico, 1992). On the one end of the collocational continuum are free combinations with the highest degree of productivity, semantic transparency, and substitutability of items for their constituent elements. On the other end are idioms that are the least productive, the most opaque in semantics, and the most frozen in terms of substitutability of elements. Between these two extremes are different types of restricted collocations.

At present, we still lack a clear, non-controversial and all-embracing definition of collocation (Fontenelle, 1994). Consequently, researchers tend to use different terms and scopes to describe the syntagmatic relationships between lexical items (Granger, 1998; Moon, 1992). The current study adopts Howarth's (1998b) categorization model of lexical collocations because the model provides a thorough explanation of the classification criteria and easy-to-follow examples. In the model, the collocational continuum contains four categories of collocations: (a) free combinations, (b) restricted collocations, (c) figurative idioms, and (d) pure idioms. A free combination derives its meaning from composing the literal meaning of individual elements, and its constituents are freely substitutable. A typical example provided by Howarth is *blow a trumpet*. A restricted collocation is more limited in the selection of compositional elements and usually has one component that is used in a specialized context, e.g., *blow a fuse*. For idioms that are semantically opaque or highly frozen, Howarth further divides them into figurative and pure idioms. While a figurative idiom has a metaphorical meaning as a whole that can somehow be derived from its literal interpretation, a pure idiom has a unitary meaning that is totally unpredictable from the meaning of its components. The example Howarth gives for the two types are *blow your own trumpet* and *blow the gaff*, respectively.

Factors Influencing Performance in Collocation

Recent empirical studies have identified several factors that may influence learners' performance in producing collocations. These factors include semantic fields, meaning boundaries, and collocational restrictions. The semantic field of a lexicon is determined by its conceptual field. Examples of conceptual fields include color, kinship and marital relations. (Allan, 2001). Biskup (1992) examined Polish and German EFL learners' performance in English collocations. He concluded that the wider the semantic field of a given lexical item, the more L1 interference errors it might trigger. For example, a number of subjects provided **lead a bookshop* for the target collocation *run a bookshop*, which was clearly an instance of L1 interference. In the same vein, the more synonyms an item had, the more difficulties learners encountered in producing a restricted collocation. Lennon (1996) also pointed out the reasons accounting for learners' erroneous use of high frequency verbs such as *put, go,* and *take*. The main reason lay in these verbs' rich polysemy and syntactic complexity. As they formed phrases with prepositions, these verbs created collocational restrictions that required special attention to their collocational environments. These lexical properties surely created different degrees of difficulty for learners.

The second factor concerns the influence of learners' native language. Because of the commonality of some human situations, different languages have parallel fixed expressions that are syntactically and semantically similar (Moon, 1992; Teliya, Bragina, Oparina, & Sandomirskaya, 1998). Due to cultural specificity, however, certain elements embedded in these expressions differ across languages. For example, English and Russian have a restricted collocation to express the process of forming a person's character. The English collocation is to mold someone's character, whereas the Russian expression vuikovuivat' kharakter means, literally, to forge someone's character. This Russian collocation is associated with a blacksmith hammering at a metal object to give it firmness and hardness. Though the English expression is also connected with a firm object, it emphasizes the idea of giving shape to an originally shapeless mass (Teliya et al., 1998). These similar but distinct expressions may cause a negative transfer from learners' L1 (Granger, 1998). L1 influence is most prevalent when

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learners perform translation tasks. Lacking collocational knowledge, learners rely heavily on the L1 as the only resource and thus do better in those collocations that have L1 equivalents than those that do not (Bahns, 1993; Bahns & Eldaw, 1993; Farghal & Obiedat, 1995).

The third factor has to do with individual learners' collocational competence. Granger (1998) and Howarth (1998a), by comparing the writing corpora of ESL/EFL learners and native English speakers, both reported that these learners generally demonstrated deficient knowledge of English collocations. Compared with their native-speaker counterparts, the ESL/EFL learners produced a lower percentage of conventional collocations but a higher percentage of deviant combinations. These learners tended to have a weak sense of the salience of collocational patterns. Other researchers such as Bahns and Eldaw (1993) and Farghal and Obiedat (1995) reported likewise. They found that L2 learners had a big gap between their receptive and productive knowledge of collocations.

Teliya et al. (1998) identified culture-related knowledge as another dimension embodied in the issue of lexical competence. They argued that the use of some lexical collocations was restricted by certain cultural stereotypes. Metaphorical collocates, for instance, served as clues to the cultural data associated with the meaning of restricted collocations. Lack of cultural competence might be responsible for learners' failure to acquire such culturally-marked collocations. This was especially true in the case of idioms because their metaphorical meanings were highly connected with cultural connotations and discourse stereotypes.

Idioms represent a unique form of collocation, and several factors affect their comprehension and production. These include the context in which the idioms are situated, the meanings of the constituents of an idiom, and learners' conceptual knowledge of metaphors and figurative competence (Gibbs, 1995; Hamblin & Gibbs, 1999; Levorato, 1993). Idioms are perceived to be more appropriate by native speakers when the context of the idiom is aligned with the intended meaning. Gibbs (1995) argued that for every analyzable idiom its salient part—for example, the main verb—could determine the meaning of the entire idiomatic expression. Based on the outcomes of a series of studies, Hamblin and Gibbs (1999) concluded that learners' figurative competence would also influence their comprehension of idioms.

Strategies in Dealing with Collocations

Due to insufficient knowledge of collocations, English learners may adopt certain strategies to produce collocations and thus create certain types of errors. The strategy used most commonly is transfer in which learners rely on L1 equivalents when they fail to find the desired lexical items in the L2. The Polish subjects in the study by Biskup (1992) mentioned above, for instance, were aware of the significant difference between their L1 and English in terms of linguistic structure. Hence, their error types reflected an extension of L2 meaning on the basis of L1 equivalents. On the other hand, the group of German learners was inclined to assume formal similarities between their L1 and English. As a result, they made errors such as language switches and blends. The transfer strategy may also reflect the learners' assumption that there is a one-to-one correspondence between their L1 and L2. As Farghal and Obiedat (1995) pointed out, positive transfer occurred when the target collocations matched those in the L1, while negative transfer appeared when no corresponding patterns could be found in the L1.

The second strategy is avoidance (Bahns & Eldaw, 1993; Farghal & Obiedat, 1995; Howarth, 1998). Second language learners may avoid the target lexical items because they fail to retrieve the appropriate items of which they have passive knowledge. As a consequence, they alter the intended meaning of the collocations (Bahns & Eldaw, 1993; Farghal & Obiedat, 1995; Howarth, 1998b).

The third strategy often used by learners is paraphrasing, or using synonyms. Learners may substitute the target item with a synonymous alternative and use paraphrasing to express the target collocations with which they are not familiar. For example, the German learners in Biskup's study (1992) adopted more creative strategies than the Polish learners. They thus provided more descriptive answers such as substituting crack a nut with break a nut open.

Also noteworthy is the study by Farghal and Obiedat (1995), who investigated the use of synonyms by Arabic EFL learners. The study revealed that the subjects' heavy reliance on the open choice principle for item selection led to deviant and incorrect collocations. Additionally, the researchers found that the more collocations learners acquired, the fewer paraphrases they used in their L2 production. In this case, paraphrasing was generally used as an escape-hatch that helped communication proceed.

There are of course other strategies frequently adopted by learners. For example, learners may experiment by creating a collocation that they think is substitutable for the target one (Bahns & Eldaw, 1993; Granger, 1998). Granger (1998) noticed in her corpus of French essays that learners created collocations they considered to be acceptable such as ferociously menacing and shamelessly exploited. Apparently, these unconventional word combinations were a result of learners' creative invention.

Howarth (1998b) examined the errors in the corpus of non-native writers and identified some other strategies including analogies and repetition. These writers created collocations based on a familiar L2 collocation. For instance, they drew an analogy between adopt a method and adopt an approach. However, this strategy might also lead to the overgeneralization of collocability. An example of this would be adopt ways, an idiomatic expression which would likely have marginal usage among non-native speakers. The non-native writers in Granger's (1998) study tended to use a limited number of collocations repeatedly such as the combination of very with a variety of adjectives. The strategy of repetition was particularly favored when learners did not possess sufficient knowledge of collocations.

PURPOSE OF STUDY

The preceding review of learners' strategies provides insights concerning how they deal with English collocations. It also provides an understanding of the processes they go through to attain L2 collocations. Some questions naturally arise: To what extent can these strategies be generalized for learners from different L1 backgrounds? What kinds of difficulties do learners from different linguistic backgrounds encounter in dealing with English collocations? The purpose of this research, therefore, was to specifically investigate Chinese EFL learners' knowledge of different types of English collocations. These include free combinations, restricted collocations, figurative idioms, and pure idioms, as proposed by Howarth (1998b).

It was hypothesized that the degrees of difficulty for learners were subject to an items' position in the collocational continuum, starting with free combination as the easiest type and pure idiom the most difficult. In addition, the research investigated critically the errors the learners produced in the target task. An analysis of their responses would reveal their difficulty in acquiring English collocations and uncover the strategies they used to deal with problems. It was expected that an understanding of learners' strategies would shed light on approaches for teaching collocations.

METHOD

Subjects

Sixty students from a college in southern Taiwan were recruited as the subjects of the study. Of these sixty students, 19 were male and 41 were female, and they ranged from 19 to 22 years of age. Majoring in medical science and technology, these students took English as a mandatory course for the completion of their degree. Before they entered this college, they had received at least six years of English instruction by the time they graduated from high school.

Instruments

The research instrument was a self-designed Simple Completion Test (SCT) that measured the subjects' knowledge in four types of lexical collocations: free combinations, restricted collocations, figurative idioms, and pure idioms (Howarth, 1998b). The test consisted of 40 items in the form of free-response with ten items in each collocational category. Each item contained two or three sentences that provided a context in which a specific collocation or idiom about food or animals was embedded. By referring to the sentential context, a subject was required to fill in an appropriate word to complete the target collocation or idiom. Most sentences involved in the SCT were adapted from Booker's *Longman active American idioms* (1994).

The 40 test items were distributed to four sections according to their roles as a part of speech. Each section comprised separate test items falling into the four types of collocations previously mentioned. Section A required subjects to fill in an appropriate verb, Section B an adjective, and Section C a noun about food. Target items in Section D were nouns related to animals. Please refer to the Appendix for the complete list of test items. Examples for each type of lexical collocations are given below. (The number in front of each example is its item number in the SCT.)

Free combination - 11. Those boys and girls don't ___ orange juice. They prefer something special, like pineapple juice or punch. (Fill in a verb.)

Restricted collocation - 25. They also provide ___ drinks at the party for those who don't drink alcohol. (Fill in an adjective.)

Figurative idiom - 34. A lazy person always gives the excuse that working is not his cup of ___. (Fill in a noun about food.)

Pure idiom - 47. The Browns bought a very cheap house, but later they spent a lot of money repairing it. We all think that they bought a ___ in a poke. (Fill in a noun about animal.)

Procedure

The SCT was administered in the classroom where regular instruction for the subjects took place. Each subject was allowed sufficient time to work individually on the test questions. It took about 35 minutes for all the subjects to finish the test. Before the test started, the researcher provided directions in Chinese and encouraged the subjects to answer each question or take educated guesses if they were unsure of the answer.

Data Collection and Analysis

The subjects' answer sheets were collected and analyzed using both quantitative and qualitative paradigms. The correct answers provided by each subject were first marked. Special consideration in scoring was given to test words under the categories of free combinations and restricted collocations. An answer that showed a correct choice of lexicon but had wrong inflections was judged to be correct. Note the example below.

> It is possible that after several decades, children may not know how a pig ___. This may happen because they have never seen a pig.

In this case, answers such as *walks, walk, walking* were all counted as correct because the focus of the SCT was on the correct choice of collocates. The response

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word *walk* can collocate perfectly with *pig* in this sentence, and thus the inflectional errors in verbs or numbers of nouns were ignored.

The criteria applied to items under the categories of figurative and pure idioms were slightly different. Look at the following example:

> We ___ a whale of time at Paul's birthday party yesterday. It was really fun.

The answers *had, have, has* were all counted as correct. The choice of the verb *to have* was correct for this idiom and the error in verbal inflection did not affect the meaning of the idiom. Accordingly, the above responses were all considered correct. This principle does not apply to the following example.

> Ten years ago, the streets in Chicago were dirty and public services were awful. The city had really gone to the ___. But now it's much better.

In this situation, the word *dogs* was the only correct answer while the alternative word *dog* failed to fit this pure idiom, a type of collation that is completely frozen. No freedom was allowed for a subject to change plurality to singularity in this idiom.

In the quantitative analysis, the number of correct responses for each test word was counted, as were the numbers of blank responses and deviant answers. Descriptive statistics were then generated to compare subjects' performance in each category and observe the relative difficulty of different categories. The mean under each category represented the average number of subjects who answered the test items in the category correctly. The average number of blank responses in each category was also counted because it indicated the difficulty level perceived by the subjects. Since students were encouraged to answer each test item without leaving any blanks, the blank responses may suggest that they were unable to provide even an educated guess due to the difficulty of the item. Another indicator of item difficulty is the number of variations in subjects' incorrect answers. It was suspected that subjects would provide more variations for the items they perceive more challenging.

In addition, a qualitative paradigm was used to analyze the collocational clusters subjects provided for each category. This application aimed to reveal which words caused confusion in terms of their collocability and which lexical collocations were especially challenging to the respondents.

RESULTS

Table 1 displays the average percentage of correct responses for each category. The mean of the free combination category is dramatically higher than that of the other three. The category of pure idioms, as predicted, has the lowest mean. The mean of figurative idioms is slightly higher than that of restricted collocations, but subjects' performance in the former type is more deviated from the mean. The results have partly confirmed the hypothesis that free combinations appear to be the easiest to deal with, whereas pure idioms are the most challenging. Figurative idioms were expected to be more difficult than restricted collocations. Surprisingly, however, they created the same degree of difficulty for the subjects.

Table 1 Descriptive statistics of the subjects' performance in four categories (N = 60)

	Free combinations	Restricted collocations	Figurative idioms	Pure idioms
Mean	49.20	8.10	8.60	4.0
SD	7.51	7.67	11.08	10.23

The same tendency emerged when the researcher examined the average numbers of subjects' deviant answers (exclusive of the correct answers provided) and blank responses. As shown in Table 2, the subjects gave considerably fewer deviant answers and blank responses for free combinations than in the other three categories. The figures in the categories of restricted collocations and figurative idioms do not show a great difference, indicating that subjects faced an equal level of difficulty for these two categories. Among the four types, pure idioms triggered the most deviant answers and blank responses. Although subjects were encouraged not to skip any items by engaging in guessing, on average approximately one fifth of the subjects failed to provide at least a guess for at least one of the pure idioms.

For restricted collocations and both figurative and pure idioms, the subjects created a large number of variations of incorrect answers. The enormous amount of varieties of deviant answers implies their lack of collocational knowledge.

Table 2 Average numbers of blank responses and variations of incorrect answers in four categories (N = 60)

	Free combinations	Restricted collocations	Figurative idioms	Pure idioms
Blank responses	1.7	7.6	9.7	12.8
Numbers of variations of incorrect answers	7.6	23.3	23.2	26.6

An analysis of subjects' collocational errors in each category suggests that test items created different degrees of difficulty for the subjects. For all test words in free combinations, more than two thirds of the subjects answered correctly except for items 14 (*how a pig* ___) and 22 (___ *food*). Only 37 out of 60 responded correctly for these two items. For item 14, some subjects provided deviant answers that did not comply with the syntactic structure of the indirect question starting with *how*, e.g., *is, like*. Item 22 required the subjects to fill in an appropriate adjective that collocates with *food*. Many of the deviant answers, however, contained lexical items of other parts of speech and spelling errors. As for the category of restricted collocations, no subjects correctly answered items 19 *(milk their cows)* or 27 *(soup... too thick/solid/stiff to stir)*. Items 18 *(hen...hatch/produce eggs)*, 33 *(food stamps)*, 17 *(make/propose/drink a toast)*, and 25 *(soft/non-alcoholic drinks)* were also very difficult, as fewer than ten subjects responded appropriately.

The subjects had an equally unsatisfactory performance in figurative idioms. None of them could give a correct answer for items 110 *(smell a rat)*, 210 *(a dark horse)*, 211 *(beat a dead horse)* and 45 *(a bull in a china shop)*. By contrast, more than half of the subjects correctly answered item 43 *(a paper tiger)*. Similarly, their performance in item 34 *(his cup of tea)* was also remarkable, with 22 out of 60 subjects providing the correct answer. Pure idioms, as expected, proved to be extremely demanding for the subjects, as none of them managed to provide a correct answer for half of the test items. The other half of the test items with the exception of item 111 *(had a whale of a time)* was also difficult, as only one or two subjects came up with the correct answers. Thirty-three subjects out of 60 provided a correct choice for item 111, though they made a great number of inflectional errors. The reason may be that these subjects made an analogy of this idiom with *have fun* or *have a good time*. Otherwise, they would not be able to answer it correctly because pure idioms are frozen in terms of lexical collocability and meaning fixation. On the other hand, their deviant answers may, to a great extent, also have resulted from guessing. Taking this into account, the researcher did not further analyze their collocational errors in pure idioms.

In comparison with pure idioms, the subjects' deviant answers for restricted collocations and figurative idioms may shed light on their knowledge of collocations since these two categories allow a certain degree of flexibility in lexical combinations. For this reason, a qualitative approach was utilized to analyze the collocational errors the subjects created in these two categories. Table 3 shows the deviant answers for each test item. Only test items involving more than 5 respondents are displayed.

Table 3
Correct and deviant answers for restricted collocations and figurative idioms (N = 60)

Restricted collocations			Figurative idioms		
Item	Correct answer(s)	Deviant answers	Item	Correct answer(s)	Deviant answers
15	take (8) have (2)	eat (34)	110	smell (0)	like (7) have/haven't (7)
16	have (18) produce (1)	are (15) grow/grows /growing/grew (10)	28	big (5)	important (8)
17	make (5)	take (11), go (11)	29	hot (11)	big (6)
18	produce (2) have (5)	get (13)	210	dark (0)	good (8) black (5)
19	milk (0)	take (7)	211	dead (0)	big (9)
24	black (21) strong (0)	red (9)	34	tea (22)	coffee (20)
25	soft (7) non-alcoholic (0)		42	fish (5)	pig (6) dog (6)
26	black (14)	pure (7)	43	tiger (33)	dog (6)
27	thick (0) stiff (0) solid (0)	dry (10) sweet (6)	44	dog (10)	cow (9)
33	food (3)		45	bull (0)	monkey (11) cat (7)

Note: The number in the parentheses indicates the number of subjects who responded to a target item. The deviant answers provided here are incomplete, since only test items involving more than 5 respondents are counted.

The deviant answers provided by the subjects may demonstrate L1 transfer. For example, for item 15 the subjects chose *eat* to collocate with *a bite*, which is a direct translation from Chinese. Other collocations that have L1 equivalents include *trees *grow fruit* (item 16), **red tea* (item 24), **pure coffee* (item 26), *soup… too *dry to stir* (item 27), and **black horse* (item 210) in the case of figurative idioms. The influence of the first language is not always negative. There could be positive transfer that helps the subjects to locate the correct idioms, an example being *a paper tiger* (item 43). This English idiom has a Chinese equivalent that shares exactly the same meaning with its English counterpart. This explains why it is the only test word answered correctly by more than half of the subjects.

For some items, the subjects seemed to fail to recognize the target collocations as somewhat fixed expressions. They then provided a lexical item that did not form a restricted collocation or an idiom with the neighboring words. For example, 20 subjects substituted *tea* with *coffee* in the idiom *one's cup*

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of tea (item 34). The other examples were *an *important cheese* instead of *a big cheese* (item 28) and *a *good horse* instead of *a dark horse* (item 210). They also avoided using the target item by adopting another one and thus altered the meaning of the expression. An instance of this would be **take their cows* instead of *milk their cows* (item 19).

When choosing answers for idioms about animals, the subjects tended to activate their cultural stereotypes of the characteristics of certain animals. They employed this strategy when confronted with the puzzle of an unfamiliar collocation. Unfortunately, they quite often ended up with the wrong answers. For instance, *a dog's life* (item 44) means a life of hardship. Subjects who substituted *dog* with *cow* might be inspired by the phrase *work hard* in the preceding sentence. They then made the analogy of the cow, which is associated with the image of a hard-working animal in Chinese culture. For item 45, subjects who chose *a *monkey in a china shop* might think that monkeys tend to fool around and mess up things. When they could not obtain any clue for the answers, they tended to choose high-frequency words. This inclination becomes clear when we notice a certain number of subjects providing the deviant answers of *are, take, go, get, like, have,* and *big*.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this research was to first investigate Taiwanese EFL students' knowledge of English collocations and then analyze their errors in four categories of collocations. The results indicated that free combinations created the least amount of difficulty, whereas pure idioms were the most challenging. Restricted collocations and figurative idioms were equally difficult for the subjects, who performed only slightly better in these two categories than in the pure idioms category. Most subjects' collocational errors could be attributed to negative transfer from their first language. Also, some subjects chose to adopt the strategies of avoidance and analogy. In some instances, their deviant answers demonstrated the influence of cultural stereotypes and a lack of awareness of collocational restrictions.

Overall, the quantitative results show that these EFL learners have insufficient knowledge of English collocations. In the face of idioms that are frozen in meaning or highly restrictive in the selection of collocates, they have little choice but to give up. These learners' poor performance in restricted collocations lend credence to the viewpoints of Bahns and Eldaw (1993), who assume that learners' collocational knowledge seems not to parallel their competence in vocabulary. Taking this into consideration, many researchers have proposed that restricted collocations is the most important category to teach or learn (Biskup, 1992; Farghal & Obiedat; 1995; Granger, 1998; Howarth, 1998). It is the type of word combination that falls between the two ends of the collocational continuum. It is fair to claim that idioms have a more restricted context for their usage and can be easily avoided since avoidance is a strategy adopted frequently by learners lacking the passive/active knowledge for a target task. In comparison, restricted collocations are almost unavoidable in L2 learners' speech and writing production. This is also an area that is often neglected because no specific perception problems are posed when learners encounter a new collocation. As Biskup (1992) and Bahns and Eldaw (1993) suggest, learners' understanding of English collocations does not imply satisfactory productive knowledge of collocations nor does their collocational competence progress with the development of their vocabulary knowledge. Therefore, collocations should be explicitly taught with emphases on the restricted type and on learners' productive knowledge.

As shown in the analysis of the error types produced by the subjects, the L1 plays a crucial role in their production of English collocations. The prevalent strategy of transfer reflects learners' assumption that there is a one-to-one correspondence between the L1 and L2. Positive transfer thus occurs when the target collocations match those in the L1. The figurative idiom a paper tiger is one such example. Conversely, negative transfer appears when no corresponding patterns can be found in the L1, such as *eat a bite for take a bite, a *black horse for a dark horse, and *red tea for black tea, just to name a few. Accordingly, when teaching collocations, teachers need to compare and contrast similar collocations in the L1 and L2. It would also be useful to point out the different lexical items used in the parallel collocations in English and learners' L1 by presenting a variety of examples. Learners can thus attend to the lexico-semantic distinctions between the two languages and reduce errors caused by L1 interference.

The learners' tendency to use high-frequency words to substitute for the target lexical items is a significant finding. It reminds us that these learners have scant awareness of collocational restrictions and are also confused by the different collocates these words can take. For example, quite a few subjects substituted make with take or go for the collocation make a toast. About one fourth of the subjects substituted have/produce with be in item 16 (trees ___ fruit). This practice recalls Lennon's 1996 study in which he explored advanced EFL learners' errors in producing some common verbs. Lennon concluded that learners' errors were due to a hazy lexical knowledge in polysemy, collocational restrictions, and phrasal verb combinations. These learners relied too heavily on their ideas of the core meaning of polysemous verbs. When learning the target language, therefore, EFL learners need to explore the meaning-range and collocational restrictions of high-frequency lexical items.

Likewise, Farghal and Obiedat (1995) emphasize teaching vocabulary collocationally instead of individually. In teaching collocations, both intralingual and interlingual approaches need to be addressed. With an intralingual approach, teachers can juxtapose various meanings of a lexical item with different collocates to sensitize learners to the differences. In comparison, an interlingual approach makes use of current corpora of collocations produced by native English speakers. It functions to attract learners' attention to the native-like usage of collocations.

Another major type of subjects' collocational errors, especially those in producing idioms, is attributed to their lack of cultural awareness. Teliya et al. (1998) propose phraseology as a language of culture since cultural stereotypes are most prominent in the idioms of a language. The Russian collocations on emotions, for example, are connected with local images of nature and hence are culturally marked. The restricted collocation food stamps in the current study is another culturally specific concept that confuses Taiwanese EFL learners unfamiliar with socio-cultural situations in the U.S. Since the meanings of idioms often involve cultural and historical data, teaching idioms through a cultural perspective may foster the processing and retention of L2 idioms. Making comparisons between similar L1 and L2 idioms may also allow learners to associate their mental images of the L1 idiom with the L2 counterpart. They thus have a greater chance to enhance the processing of L2 idioms.

With regard to the acquisition of idioms, Hamblin and Gibbs (1999) propose a method quite different from the traditional ones, which tend to emphasize learning idioms mainly by rote memorization. In a series of experiments they have found that figurative idioms are usually decomposable in such a way that the parts contribute to the overall meaning of the idioms. Even the frozen, non-decomposable pure idioms are, to some degree, analyzable in that their meaning is partly determined by the meaning of the idioms' main verbs. Therefore, learners can acquire L2 idioms by considering the historical origins of words, understanding the cultural stereotypes implied by the idioms, attending to contextual information, and capturing the meaning of the core verb of an idiom.

CONCLUSIONS AND EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

This research demonstrated that, due to their insufficient collocational knowledge, the EFL learners in this study performed unsatisfactorily in producing English collocations. In particular, their performance in the type of restricted collocations implies a general unawareness of the semantic range and selectional restrictions of the English lexicon. This problem may spring from their habit of learning English vocabulary as isolated words. Theoretically, learning a new lexicon actually means learning its cultural connotations, semantic fields and collocational restrictions. Only through this can learners promote their phraseological competence to an ideal level for effective communication in written and oral language.

The teaching of collocations inevitably needs to be integrated with the teaching of vocabulary, which can be effectively carried out by both intralingual and interlingual approaches. ESL/EFL teachers need to address the cultural data, metaphorical meanings, and the historical origins associated with the collocations to be introduced. In addition, dictionaries on collocations can foster the development of collocational competence so long as they provide examples of lexical items with different collocates, indicate different environments associated with a particular collocation, and highlight the subtle distinctions between collocations that appear to be structurally similar.

Some issues are well worth exploring. This study chose collocations related to food and animals based on the assumption that these collocations are easier to learn. Farghal and Obiedat (1995) made a similar observation in their descriptions of frequently used collocations about core topics such as food, colors, and weather. However, the results of the present study have indicated that many factors influence learners' performance. It is premature to determine whether a collocation is easier or more difficult to cope with unless more investigations of a similar nature are conducted. For instance, to get a clear picture of ESL/EFL learners' collocational knowledge in English, more research should target other types of collocation: phrasal verbs, the lexical combinations of adjectives and nouns, or collocations of other topics.

Another issue concerns the contrastive performance of learners from different L1 backgrounds. Biskup (1992) generated some interesting findings by comparing Polish and German L2 learners' collocation errors. In the same vein, it would be useful to explore whether learners from diverse L1 backgrounds encounter different degrees of L1 interference. The need exists for research on how the similarity between English and learners' L1s affects their performance in collocations. We also need more data pertaining to learners' use of collocations in their L1 and English in order to determine how cultural and linguistic background or individual characteristics influence learners' performance. Based on empirical results from studies of this nature, ESL/EFL teachers can adopt more effective methods to enhance learners' lexical competence.

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APPENDIX

List of Target Collocations

The two-digit or three-digit number in front is the item number on the test sheet. A test item having "1" as the first digit is included in Section A, "2" in Section B, "3" in Section C, and "4" in Section D. The second digit represents the order of the test item in its own section. For example, item "210" means the tenth test item in Section B.

Free combinations

11. Those boys and girls don't ___ orange juice. They prefer something special, like pineapple juice or punch. (verb)
12. Tina and her parents don't like lemons because they are too sour. So they ___ apples instead. (verb)
13. Today is Sunday. Do you want to ___ there to see some rare animals? (verb)
14. Is it possible that after several decades, the children may not know how a pig ___? This is because they have never seen a pig.
21. The supermarket often sells ___ fruit, so a lot of people buy fruit there. (adj.)
22. ___ food is more popular in America than in most Asian countries. (adj.)
23. Did you see the ___ rabbit over there? My parents bought it for my birthday. I like it very much. (adj.)
31. Mother is cooking ___ in the kitchen. It smells good. People in the party will surely like it. (food)
32. Please pass the ___ to me. I can't reach it. (food)
41. The little child asked me what a ___ likes to eat. I was not sure, so I looked at the book for information. (animal)

Restricted collocations

15. This peach is sweet and delicious. Would you like to have (take) a bite?
16. Not all trees bear (produce/have) fruit. For example, an apple tree does, but a pine tree doesn't.
17. Let's make (propose/drink) a toast to the host and wish him good health and many years of happiness.
18. If our hen could lay (produce/have) gold eggs like the one in the fairy tale, we would become rich.
19. The farmers milk their cows every morning before breakfast so that their children can have fresh milk to drink.
24. I don't like strong (black) tea because it upsets my stomach. Also, its dark color looks terrible.
25. They also provide soft (non-alcoholic/alcohol-free) drinks at the party for those who don't drink alcohol.

26. Remember to put cream into Jenny's coffee. Otherwise, she'll get angry because she never drinks black (strong) coffee.
27. Please put some more water into the soup, or it will become too thick (stiff/solid) to stir.
33. In the U.S., poor people are given food stamps with which they can get something to eat.

Figurative idioms

110. We don't want to buy the car because its price is so low that we smell a rat. Something must be wrong with the car.
28. Nicole always says that her father is an important person. According to her, he is a big cheese in the government.
29. The earthquake made a lot of people homeless. The housing problem has become such a hot potato that no government officials want to deal with it.
210. Some people say Mr. Tanaka will win the election. Others think Miss McCarty has a chance to win, too. She is sort of a dark horse.
211. When we eat out, Kevin never pays even if it's his turn to do so. We have been beating a dead horse trying to get him to pay the bill.
34. A lazy person always gives the excuse that working is not his cup of tea.
42. He owns the biggest factory in this small town. Though he is well-known in the town, he's just a big fish in a small pond.
43. Mr. Klein seems to have a lot of power in his company, but actually his wife is the real boss. He is just a paper tiger.
44. To become a doctor, you have to work hard at medical school. It's a dog's life because you'll have to study every day for many years.
45. Mother won't let Bill do the dishes because he may break the plates. He's like a bull in a china shop.

Pure idioms

111. We had a whale of a time at Paul's birthday party. It was really fun.
112. In this poor country, many children take small jobs to help their families keep the wolf from the door.
113. Joe went bankrupt. Nobody lent him money because his friends thought he was crying wolf again.
212. Tom isn't going to go to a quit smoking class. He has decided to go cold turkey without any help.
213. My mother spent all day making a cake, but one guest asked her where she had bought it. She really got on her high horse this time.
35. I told all my friends I'd help them with their English, but I got a lot of answers wrong! Now I've got egg on my face.
36. The history teacher is really useless. Many students say that he is not worth his salt and the college should let him go.

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46. We got the good news from Helen. Since she is the manager's daughter, we all believed that she got it from the horse's mouth.
47. The Browns bought a very cheap house, but later they spent a lot of money repairing it. We all think that they bought a pig in a poke.
48. Ten years ago, the streets in Chicago were dirty and public services were awful. The city had really gone to the dogs. But now it's much better.

Vowel Quality and Consonant Voicing: The Production of English Vowels and Final Stops by Korean Speakers of English

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Due to the fact that the Korean language does not allow voiced obstruents, it is presumable that Korean speakers of English may have difficulties when they produce voiced obstruents of English. With respect to the accurate production of voiced obstruents, there are studies that claim that the quality of the vowel influences nonnative speakers' (NNSs') accuracy of voiced stops (e.g., Yavas, 1994). In this respect, the present study examined the quality of three English vowels, /i/, /ʌ/, and /a/ and their Korean counterpart vowels by measuring F1/F2 frequencies and investigating how the different vowel qualities influenced consonant voicing. Six English and six Korean native speakers (NS) participated. F1/F2 frequencies of vowels produced by the subjects were measured on spectrograms in a speech analyzer, and the accuracy of their vowels and final stops was determined by four English NS raters. It is difficult to tell from the study what effect different vowel qualities have on consonant voicing because most of the Korean subjects failed to pronounce voiced stops accurately. A noteworthy phenomenon was that F1/F2 frequencies of English vowels produced by Korean NSs were superimposed between native English and Korean vowels. This indicates that when Korean speakers produce English they assimilate native English sounds. As such, it is predictable that F1/F2 frequencies of more advanced L2 learners (i.e., somewhat successful with voicing) may be similar to those of native English speakers.

INTRODUCTION

While English has voiced sonorants and voiced and voiceless obstruents, Korean only has voiced sonorants and voiceless obstruents. As a result, one may expect Korean speakers who are learning English to have difficulties when they produce voiced obstruents in English. This expectation may not, however, be accurate because of pre-, post-, and intervocalic voicing rules that indicate that vowels (or vowel quality) can influence consonant voicing (Anderson & Stageberg, 1975; Locke, 1983; Yavas, 1994). Major and Faudree's (1996) study showed that because Korean has the intervocalic rule, Korean speakers do not have difficulty with voiced stops in medial position. Based on the literature, the present study: (a) examines the quality of three English vowels, /i/, /ʌ/, and /a/ and their Korean counterpart-vowels by measuring the first and second formant (F1/F2) frequencies, and (b) investigates how different vowel qualities influence final stop voicing (in this study only stops in the final position are analyzed).

The reason why the vowels /i/, /ʌ/, and /a/ were chosen for this study is that the seven vowels (i, e, ɛ, ʌ, a, o, u) are typically transcribed with the same

International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) symbols in English and Korean (Yang 1996), and of the seven /i/, /ʌ/, and /a/ reveal the most representative positions of the tongue within the oral cavity as the high-front, low middle-center, and low-back positions respectively. Because these three vowels cover any possible position of the tongue within the oral cavity, it is possible to extract a general perception on the relationship between vowel quality and consonant voicing by looking at how they affect the voicing of consonants.

The quality of /i/, /ʌ/, and /a/ produced by native English and native Korean speakers was estimated from formant frequency measurements since formant frequency provides a convenient way of representing a given vowel system and of depicting differences in vowel systems between languages or dialects (Rosner & Pickering, 1994). For the purpose of this study, only the first and second formant frequencies were considered. In articulatory terms, F1 is related to tongue height while F2 is related to tongue advancement. Front vowels such as /i/ have a low F1 and a high F2. In contrast, back vowels such as /a/ have a high F1 and a low F2.

The technique used to measure the relation between English and Korean vowels is to plot their F1/F2 formant frequencies on a spectrogram. In doing so, there are some potential problems. That is to say, uncontrolled phonetic contexts may create remarkable lags between the values of F1/F2 frequency (Flege, Bohn, & Jang, 1997). Bearing this in mind, this study was designed in a controlled context. The Korean and English words selected for this study were monosyllabic with stressed vowels (/i/, /ʌ/, and /a/), coda (voiced and voiceless stops), and consonant vowel consonant structure (see Appendix).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Most Korean speakers learning English, especially learners in the initial stages, assume that Korean vowel quality is identical to English vowel quality in counterpart pairs for two reasons: a) because of symbol-based first language (L1) and second language (L2) comparisons provided by phoneticians, and b) non-native vowel perceptions that result from learners perceiving L2 vowels with phonological contrasts in L1 (Flege, 1992; Ingram & Park,1997). This is evident when looking at how English phonetic alphabets are taught in institutional settings (e.g., family, schools) in Korea. However, as far as the literature is concerned, research shows that all languages have some variations in vowel quality due to differences in the vowel height (e.g., Ladefoged & Maddieson, 1990; Yavas, 1994), and that the assumption that counterpart vowel pairs in English and Korean are identical should be challenged. In this respect, the present study was designed to verify Korean vowel quality in relation to English vowel quality asking specific questions: (a) is Korean vowel quality really the same as English vowel quality? and (b) if identical vowels reveal different qualities in articulatory tests, what happens when Korean speakers of English use Korean vowel sounds in English words? Stated another way, if Korean NSs use Korean vowel quality in English words, how does it affect the production of final stops? Does it enhance or decline the accuracy of final stops?

Prior to this study, the researcher expected to find certain phenomena in the F1/ F2 frequencies of /i/, /ʌ/, and /a/ in three different groups (Koreans speaking Korean, Koreans speaking English, and Native English speakers speaking English). The researcher's expectations were: (a) the F1/F2 frequency of each vowel in the groups would differ, and (b) because of the different vowel qualities between English and Korean, in the case of Korean NSs, the relationship between vowel quality and consonant voicing would show different results from earlier studies conducted with native English speakers or other language speakers (e.g., Japanese).

Vowel Articulation and Quality: English and Korean

Each vowel has a characteristic vocal tract shape that is determined by the position of the tongue, jaw, and lips. Because the jaw and tongue usually work together to increase or reduce the mouth opening, vowel production is often described by specifying the position of two articulators: the tongue and the lips.

According to lip articulations, vowels are classified as being either rounded or unrounded. Vowels are classified by the articulatory position of the tongue in regard to height, front-back (backness), and roundness (Bernthal & Bankson, 1988; Ladefoged & Maddieson, 1990; Pennington, 1996). Twelve monophthong vowels (i, ɪ, e, ɛ, æ, ə, ʌ, a, ɔ, o, U, u) in American English are identified by these features of articulation within the oral cavity. Of these twelve, five vowels (i, ɪ, e, ɛ, æ) are formed in the front of the mouth. The vowels /u/, /U/, /o/ and /ɔ/ are articulated in the back of the mouth with the back of the tongue raised. The central vowels include /ə/, /ʌ/, and /a/. Together, these twelve vowel phonemes of English are diagramed in Figure 1 below.

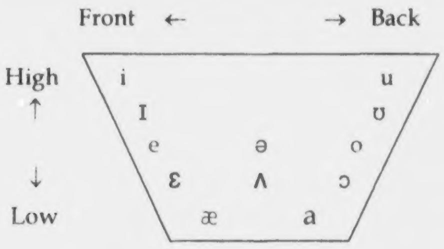

Figure 1. Position of English vowels in the vocal tract

In a similar manner, the phonetic qualities of eight or ten Korean monophthong vowels (i, e, (ϕ), ɛ, (y), ʌ, a, o, u, ɨ) are described by reference to the cardinal vowel system of IPA. There is disagreement among Korean phonologists, however, with respect to the number of monphthongs in modern standard Korean. According to Lee (1998), the disagreement is due to different views as to whether or not Korean has the front round vowels /y/ and /ϕ/. Korean vowels in the vocal tract are represented in Figure 2 below.

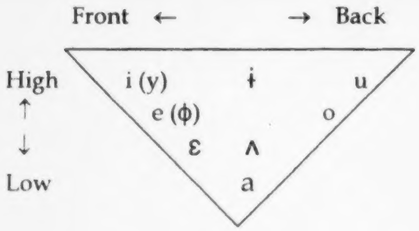

Figure 2. Position of Korean vowels in the vocal tract

Since both Korean and English vowels can be represented by the same phonetic symbols and by similar diagrams shown in Figures 1 and 2, the vowels are recognized by Korean NSs as "identical" or "similar," and as a result, English phonetics are taught with Korean counterpart vowels in institutional settings in Korea.

Vowel sounds transcribed using the same IPA symbol, however, may differ systematically (Flege, Bohn, & Jang, 1997) and vary according to individual speakers, gender, region, dialect, and so on. While examining vocal tract length of male and female Korean and American English speakers, Yang (1992, 1996) indeed found that vowel qualities in English and Korean vary according to gender and nationality.

Lee and Zhi (1987) also measured F1/F2 frequencies of eight Korean vowels (i, e, ɛ, ʌ, a, o, u, ɨ) on the sound spectrograph. The results of their study revealed very similar values to Yang's study (1996). Kil's study (2001), however, showed quite different result from those of Lee and Zhi and Yang. Kil examined the F1/F2 frequencies of /e/, /ɛ/, /ʌ/, and /a/ produced by three different groups (Korean, Spanish, and American English) to investigate the effect of L1-L2 transfer. She found that vowel qualities in the three different groups varied according to the individual and the group. What was interesting in Kil's study was that the Korean /a/ was much higher than the English and Spanish equivalents, and was even higher than the Korean /ʌ/. Thus, Kil's study implies that there must be some sound change taking place.

Vowel Quality and Word-final Stops

Numerous interlanguage studies have been conducted to investigate what L2 learners do when their native language does not allow word-final voiced stops but they encounter final voiced stops in a new language they are learning (e.g., Archibald, 1998; Broselow & Park, 1995; Edge, 1991; Flege & Davidian, 1984; Major, 1996, 2001; Weinberger, 1987; Yavas, 1994). The results of those studies showed that commonly observed linguistic behaviors among L2 learners whose L1 does not have final voiced stops are deletion, epenthesis, and devoicing. According to Major (2001), these phenomena are also observed in children's L1 learning. In the pronunciation of 'dog,' for example, a child may first delete the final consonant resulting in [dɔ], then epenthesize with [dɔga], then suppress epenthesis but devoice [dɔk], and finally reach the adult target pronunciation [dɔg].

Inserting epenthetic /ɨ/ at the end of the words, such as [hedɨ] for 'head' or [bitɨ] for 'beat' is one of the factors that causes pronunciation errors by Korean speakers of English. Broselow and Park (1995) focused their study on epenthetic behavior in Koreans learning English and sought to explain when and why Koreans add an extra vowel. Broselow and Park found that among words that end in the same consonant (e.g., beat/bit, cheap/tip), the epenthetic /ɨ/ is added to the words that have bimoraic vowels (e.g., [bi:tɨ] for 'beat', [tʃi:pɨ] for 'cheap') and not to words that have monomoraic vowels (e.g., [bit] for 'bit', [tip] for 'tip'). Hence, they concluded that the epenthetic /ɨ/ cannot be triggered by the final consonant in the English word, but that it is the quality of the vowel in the word that determines whether epenthesis takes place. Broselow and Park's study, therefore, shows that for Korean speakers of English the preceding vowel quality affects the accuracy of pronouncing the word in the target language.

Some studies (e.g., Edge, 1991; Locke, 1983; Plevyak, 1982; Smith, 1978) on final devoicing in child language and language disorder have also shown that vowel quality influences consonant voicing. While most interlanguage studies have focused exclusively on the sound of the target final voiced stops, one of the earlier studies that took the environment into account in the exploration of misproduction of final voiced stops was Edge (1991). Edge examined the effects of different environments on the production of final stops and stated that the majority of the devoicing cases were found before a pause.

Yavas (1994) focused on the height of the vowel preceding final stops to investigate the relationship between vowel quality and word-final voiced stops, while Edge (1991) was concerned with the environment following the word final obstruents. Yavas' study was spurred by two unpublished master's theses (Parucci, 1983; Plevyak, 1982) that examined the place of articulation of the stops and the effect of the preceding vowel.

Parucci (1983) measured the duration of consonantal closure and voicing by an oscilloscopic analysis of 360 CVC monosyllables whose final stops were preceded by vowels of different heights produced by eight native English speakers. The result of her study revealed that the velar stop /g/ was less voiced than the other voiced stops. This means that the place of articulation affects devoicing. This study, however, did not confirm whether or not different vowel heights influence voicing.

Plevyak (1982) conducted a similar study on final stop devoicing. Eight 3-year-old native English children participated in the study. They produced syllables that contained final stops with different vowels preceding them. This study also confirmed that /g/ was devoiced more than /b/ and /d/ but only in high vowel environments.

According to Yavas (1994), studies on the relationship between vowel height and voicing are based on the idea that high vowels are more prone to devoicing final stops than low ones because the production of high vowels creates higher supraglottal pressure (Jaeger, 1978), and that this vulnerability of high vowel would be carried over to the following stops. Yavas tested this idea with the data from 19 speakers of different languages that do not contain any stop in the final position. Subjects read a list of words all ending in voiced stops preceded by vowels of different heights. From this study, Yavas found that changing the vowel from low to high made a significant difference for the alveolar and velar stops, but not for the bilabial stop. That is, a preceding lower vowel helped non-native speakers produce the voicing of final /d/ and /g/ more accurately.

Major and Faudree (1996) also imply that vowel height may influence consonant voicing and argue that Korean speakers of English have different degrees of difficulty in producing voiced obstruents according to their positions (i.e. initial, medial, final). They do not, however, deal with that matter explicitly since it goes beyond the scope of their study. All of these studies bring us to the present study.

METHOD

Subjects

Two groups of subjects participated in this study. Group 1 consisted of 6 Korean NSs (3 females and 3 males) who were graduate students at a large university in the southwestern United States. The ages of the Korean NSs ranged from 25 to 34 years. They had studied English in Korea for 8 to10 years, and their length of residence in the United States was 3 to 4 months at the time this study was conducted. Group 2 consisted of 6 English NSs (3 females and 3 males) who were students at the same university. Their ages ranged from 19 to 33 years. A panel of four English NSs was used to judge the data that were collected from the 12 subjects.

Speech Materials and Tasks

Two word lists were used in this study: an English word list and a Korean word list. Each list contained monosyllabic words, which had one of the vowels /i/, /ʌ/, or /a/, and were followed by contrastive voiced and voiceless stops, /b/, /d/, /g/, /p/, /t/, and /k/. The English NSs were recorded reading the six English words (top, huck, meet, bob, mug, seed) in isolation so that they would tend to articulate each sound fully (cf. Flege, Frieda, & Nozawa, 1997; Pennington, 1996).

The Korean NSs were asked to complete two tasks. First, they were recorded reading the same list as the English NSs. Second, they were asked to produce six Korean words that were written with the same IPA symbols as the words in the English list, with the exception that all the stops were unvoiced. That is, since Korean does not have voiced stops, the voiceless stops contrasting to the voiced ones (p↔b, t↔d, k↔g) were substituted: tap (tower), huk (gasp), mit (under), pap (rice), muk (ink), sit (load). In all, 108 tokens produced by 12 participants were used for this study.

Variables

The independent variables in the present study were the acoustic characteristics of English vowels /i/, /ʌ/, and /a/ and their Korean counterparts. The dependent variable was the accuracy of English final stops (p, t, k, b, d, g) produced by native Korean speakers.

DATA ANALYSIS

Data were analyzed in two ways. One analysis was done with a Speech Analyzer Program (SAP). F1/F2 frequencies of each vowel in the 108 tokens that were produced by English NSs and Korean NSs were measured on spectrograms in the SAP. Formant measurements were performed by placing the cursor at the mid-point of the vowel in the center of a formant band on the spectrogram. Females and males were grouped separately because there were significant differences between them in the F1/F2 frequencies they produced. Based on the literature, for example, the possible range of F1/F2 frequencies for males in the case of /a/ is 630/1000 Hz to 750/1350 Hz and for females, 750/1200 Hz to 980/1400 Hz. The comparison, then, was conducted with F1/F2 frequencies of English vowels produced by English and Korean NSs and Korean vowels produced by Korean NSs for the same gender.

The second analysis, performed by four English NSs, was a perception analysis of the speech samples. In order to judge the accuracy of the English presentations, a scoring sheet was designed for each judge to circle the vowel and/or final consonant stop in each word (see Appendix). Judges listened to the recording of the data and circled the vowel and/or final consonant stop and gave a brief explanation of why s/he circled them or not (e.g., the vowel length was short, or the final stop was deleted). When the judges were asked to complete this portion of the study they did not know that the subjects were nonnative speakers of English, or that the Korean subjects were recorded reading two different word lists.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Vowel quality and voicing in native Korean and English female speakers

Since the primary purpose of this study was to investigate English and Korean vowel quality and L1-L2 transfer, a comparison was conducted between English and Korean subjects' F1/F2 frequencies of /a/, /ʌ/, and /i/. Figure 3 below illustrates the different F1/F2 frequencies of the three vowels in Koreans speaking Korean (KK), Koreans speaking English (KE), and native English speakers speaking English (NE). The most dramatic effects on vowel locations via F1/F2 came from differences between individual subjects.

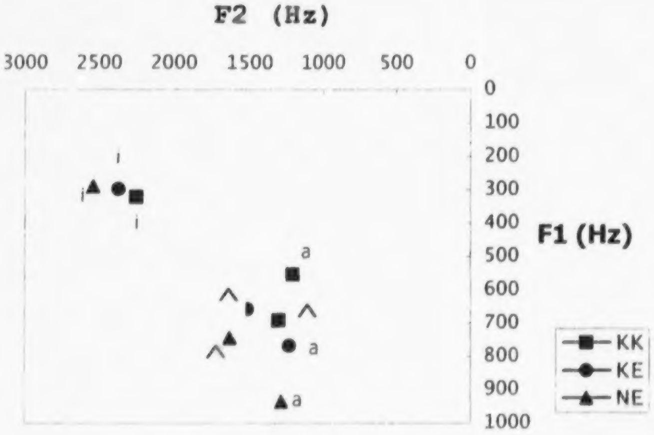

Figure 3. F1-F2 frequencies of test vowels produced by Korean and English female speakers. Phonetic symbols are given near the formant position. [1]

As can be seen in Figure 3, there are substantial differences in F1/F2 frequencies of the vowels between KK, KE, and NE. An interesting phenomenon among the groups is that F1/F2 frequencies of English vowels in KE are superimposed between the KK and the NE sound groups. This means that when Korean NSs articulate English vowels within the oral cavity, they move their tongue position from the articulatory position of Korean vowels to that of English. This shift seems to indicate that Koreans' English approximates somewhat to native English sounds. Taking into consideration the fact that the nonnative subjects in this study had resided in the U.S. for less than four months, it can be presumed that the F1/F2 frequencies of more advanced L2 learners (i.e., somewhat more successful with voicing) might approximate native English sounds even more closely.

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[1] F1 (Y-axis) is related to tongue height, while F2 (X-axis) is related to tongue advancement. For example, /i/ is a high and front vowel (a low F1 and a high F2). In contrast, /a/ is a low and back vowel (a high F1 and a low F2).

Figure 3 also shows that the Korean /a/ is much higher in its articulatory position than the English /a/. This result differs from the results of Lee and Zhi (1987) and Yang (1996), but is similar to Kil's Study (2001). Thus, further research and study needs to be designed and carried out with more subjects to verify the values of F1/F2 frequencies of the Korean /a/.

The pronunciations of 'tap' and 'pap' by KK were determined by the judges as non-native English sounds mainly because of the short vowel length in the case of 'tap' and the final stop in 'pap'. For KE, the words 'top' and 'bob' were also rated by the judges as non-native English sounds, due again to either a short vowel length or a final stop. This result, therefore, may indicate that Yavas's (1994) claim that a preceding lower vowel (e.g., /a/) helps NNSs' accuracy of voiced stops may not be entirely accurate when dealing with Korean female speakers.

While the Korean and the English /ʌ/ and /i/ are located at similar heights, the Korean /ʌ/ and /i/ are further back than the corresponding native English sounds. The judges agreed that all KKs ('huk', 'muk', 'mit', and 'sit') were inaccurate as English sounds because of the short vowel sound and final devoicing and deletion. With KEs ('huck', 'mug', 'meet', and 'seed'), there was disagreement among the judges. Three out of four judges determined that the vowel sounds of the KE were the same as native English, but that the final stop sounds were not native-like due to deletion and epenthetic /ɨ/ at the end of the word. One judge, though, decided that one Korean subject's sound was native-like, although the values of her F1/F2 frequencies were significantly different from native English. In addition, the values of F1/F2 frequencies of one native English subject were quite different from those of the other English subjects, so that one may expect that her sound would be judged as non-native. All of the judges, however, agreed that her sound was native. These factors indicate that F1/F2 frequencies themselves are not the major factor in determining whether sounds are native or non-native and that there are other factors that make the sounds native or non-native (e.g., vowel duration, accent).

An interesting rating was represented in the matter of epenthesis in the word 'seed' as produced by Korean NSs. Two judges determined that all the Korean NSs produced the whole word accurately. The other two judges agreed that one Korean subject was correct, but that the other two were not accurate because of an epenthetic /ɨ/ at the end of the word, [sidɨ]. Apparently the judgment of Korean NSs' pronunciation of 'seed' seemed to come from epenthesis because some judges perceived the final voiced stop produced by Korean NSs as more native-like, and other perceived them as inaccurate representations of English.

'Seed' was the only word among the productions by Korean NSs that showed high accuracy. It is not clear, however, what factor was operating to enable Korean NSs to produce 'seed' with high accuracy. The high accuracy may have been a result of epenthesis or similar vowel quality.

Consequently, it is difficult to tell what effect the lower vowels have on consonant voicing because Korean female speakers failed to produce the final voiced stops regardless of the height of the preceding vowel. Even though one Korean subject was judged as native-like, it does not prove that vowel height influenced consonant voicing, since her F1 frequency of the lower vowel /a/ was much higher than the English /a/.

Vowel quality and voicing in native Korean and English male speakers

When compared to F1/F2 frequencies of vowels produced by female speakers, the frequencies of male speakers in KK, KE, and NE are grouped in the expected way via the inventory of vowel systems as seen in Figure 4 below.

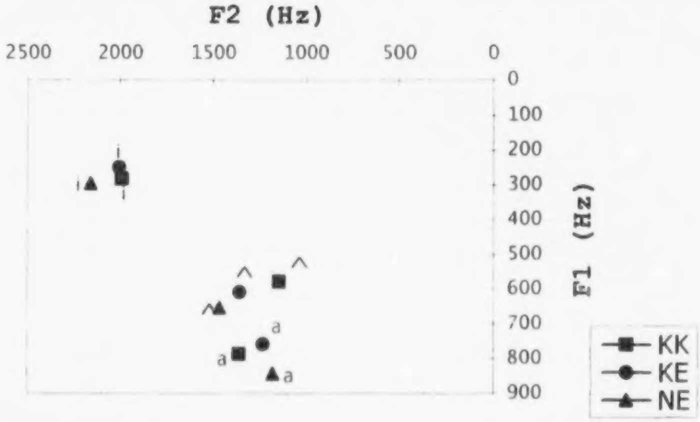

Figure 4. F1-F2 frequencies of test vowels produced by male Korean and English speakers. Phonetic symbols are given near the formant position.

There was a large difference shown between KK and NE. There were also differences between F1/F2 frequencies of the /a/ produced by Korean and English male speakers. The Korean /a/ was much higher and more to the font than the English /a/, but was not as high as seen in Korean female speakers. A noticeable occurrence was that the values of the F1/F2 frequencies of the English /a/ produced by Korean NSs were moving away from the Korean /a/ and toward the native English /a/. These data indicate that Korean NSs may assimilate English vowel sounds in their English speech. In spite of this movement, their frequencies of English /a/ were still different from native English. All the judges determined that the productions of both KK and KE were not accurate representations of the English /a/ for the same reason that they found with Korean female speakers (i.e., the /a/ produced by Korean NSs was somewhat shorter than the English /a/).

The Korean /ʌ/ was also higher and farther back than the English /ʌ/, and the Korean and the English /i/ were almost the same height, but the Korean /i/ was farther back than the English /i/. An obvious judgment was shown with 'huk' and 'muk' in KK and 'huck' and 'mug' in KE. All the judges determined that both the Korean 'huk' and the English 'huck' produced by Korean NSs were not different from native English sounds, but their production of 'muk' and 'mug' was definitely not native English because of the final stop deletion and devoicing.

As in the case of Korean female speakers, an intriguing phenomenon occurred in Korean male speakers of English. 'Meet' in KE was determined by the judges as being inaccurate because of the final coda deletion [mi], while two judges determined that 'seed' in KE was accurate, and the other two judges determined it to be inaccurate because of epenthesis, [sidɨ].

Another noteworthy result was that there were slight differences between the values of the F1/F2 frequencies of vowels preceding voiceless and voiced stops. In most of the Korean subjects, the F1/F2 frequencies of the vowels that preceded a voiced stop were higher than ones that preceded a voiceless stop. In the case of /ʌ/, for example, the F1/F2 frequencies of /ʌ/ preceding the voiced stop in KE were higher than those preceding a voiceless stop. This means that when Korean speakers pronounce a final voiced stop they are likely to produce a preceding vowel that is lower and, as a result, the F1/F2 frequencies of the KE vowel preceding a voiced stop are closer to native English, while the F1/F2 frequencies of /ʌ/,which precedes a voiceless stop in KK and KE, are far away from native English. This tendency may be related to Yavas's (1994) claim that a preceding lower vowel helps L2 learners produce final stops more accurately. This tendency of Korean NSs does not, however, explain whether or not it facilitates Korean NSs' voiced stop accuracy because all of the judges agreed that both Korean and English words produced by Korean males were non-native sounds because of final stop devoicing, epenthesis, and deletion.

CONCLUSION

While the consonant sounds of English are considerably uniform across the dialects of English, the vowel sounds present varieties that bear more problems for ESL/EFL learners (Nasr, 1997). Moreover, when vowel qualities in the native and the target language of the student differ, the problem is exacerbated. Knowing correct vowel qualities and their influence on the environment, therefore, will help both teachers and students to produce correct sounds in a target language. For this reason, a comparative study of vowel qualities in the target and the native language may prove valuable in teaching the language and correcting student errors. Also, quantitative criteria could be used to evaluate students' achievement of correct pronunciation skills in the target language. In this context, the present study examined the quality of English and Korean vowels and the relationship of vowel quality to consonant voicing to acknowledge the necessity of pedagogical changes in institutional settings in Korea.

This study found that there were substantial differences between Korean and English in the F1/F2 frequencies of vowels. The most significant phenomenon was that the Korean /a/ is much higher than the English /a/. As a result, despite Yavas' (1994) claim that lower vowels influence final stop voicing, most Korean subjects failed to pronounce final voiced stops accurately. On the other hand, the Korean and the English /i/ showed very similar quality, and some voiced and voiceless stops that followed /i/ (e.g., 'seed') produced by Korean NSs were determined by native English judges to be accurate representations of English. This means that the F1/F2 frequencies of the vowels affect the production/perception of an accurate sound, even though it is not certain to what degree they affect consonant voicing.

A noteworthy feature of the study was that the F1/F2 frequencies of Korean males' English vowels were different from their Korean counterparts and shifting toward native English. The shifting was most prominent in the F1/F2 frequencies of vowels that preceded a voiced stop. This observation provides support for the claim that there might be some relationship between vowel height and consonant voicing. Therefore, further research needs to be designed with more subjects and various measurements, and the results need more systematic data analysis to confirm the relationship between vowel quality and consonant voicing.

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Appendix

Please circle the vowel and/or final consonant stop if it sounds non-native. Then, briefly explain why you circled it (e.g., because of the long or short vowel length, or final deletion, devoicing, or epenthesis).

Subject 1

1) o p;	2) uc k;	3) ee t;	4) o b;	5) u g;	6) ee d
(top)	(huck)	(meet)	(bob)	(mug)	(seed)

1) o p;	2) uc k;	3) ee t;	4) o b;	5) u g;	6) ee d
(top)	(huck)	(meet)	(bob)	(mug)	(seed)

Functions of Discourse Markers in Japanese

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Through an examination of the discourse markers ano and sono in Japanese, this paper explores how these linguistic devices function in conversation found in Japanese writings. The focus of this analysis is the mental and social functions through which a speaker attempts to achieve an interpersonal rapport with a listener. In particular, the question addresses why the speaker cannot use these discourse markers interchangeably in a context. The data reveal how the speaker distinguishes one discourse marker from another, depending on the focus of the utterance. Results show that the discourse markers are used as either a cataphoric marker or an anaphoric marker and that they help the speaker to focus on the particular utterance that may be important to the listener.

INTRODUCTION

In studies of Japanese discourse, many researchers have focused on functions of sentence final particles (e.g., Cook, 1992; Maynard, 1989; Ohta, 1991) and speech fillers (e.g., Cook, 1993; Koide, 1983; Maynard, 1989; Sadanobu & Takubo, 1995). In each study, these discourse markers have played an important role in softening utterances and establishing an interpersonal relationship between the speaker and the listener. In the view of these researchers, discourse markers in Japanese allow speakers to express their thoughts and feelings without saying as much in so many words. For example, examinations of the discourse marker *ano* documented the way in which *ano* indicates alignment between the speaker and the listener in face-to-face interaction (Cook, 1993) and how speakers extract linguistic information from their stored knowledge after using *ano* (Sadanobu & Takubo, 1995). These studies suggest that the discourse marker allows interlocutors to communicate interpersonally.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the use of particular discourse markers that are commonly characterized as demonstrative adjectives, but which cannot be used interchangeably in a context. The paper discusses the discourse markers *ano* and *sono* and examines how these discourse markers function differently in conversation. I propose that these discourse markers occur as fillers in a context where the speaker continues to speak after using the marker. I exclude sentence final particles that are also part of discourse markers in Japanese because my focus in this paper is to look at the function of *ano* and *sono* as fillers.

BACKGROUND

Discourse Markers in English

Discourse markers are characterized as "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk" (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 31). In other words, their function is to refer to the utterance that occurs before or after a discourse marker. In English, discourse markers appear in syntactically different environments. For example, there are word-level discourse markers like *oh, well, and, but, or, so, because, like, now*, and *then*. On the other hand, discourse markers such as *I mean, let me think*, and *y'know* are classified as clauses, although an object is required for the clause *I mean* that is equivalent to the Japanese discourse marker *sono*. Each discourse marker functions in a different way and occurs in various positions of an utterance.

A discourse marker may appear in the initial, final, or middle position in an utterance. Goffman (1974) emphasizes that the discourse marker in the initial position of an utterance has more important functions because it establishes an episode and defines "what kind of transformation is to be made of the materials within the episode" (p. 255). Consider the following examples in English conversation. Number (2) is an invented example taken from Mohan (1979).

(1) (Beginning a lecture in front of an audience)
Well . . . today, I am going to talk about Japanese society.

(2) (Explaining directions to the train station to a stranger)
Oh, the central station? Well now, let me think . . . it's, just a moment, yes I think it's . . .um . . .yes, I know . . . it's er . . . it's the second street on the left . . . yes, that's it.

In (1), the speaker uses *well* in the initial position of his utterance, which indicates that the discourse marker serves to show his cognitive process of producing the utterance as well as to draw the listeners' attention. When discourse markers are used in the initial position, they also reduce the abrupt impression of the speech to the listener (Mohan, 1979). In (2), the speaker can provide the information without discourse markers: "The central station? It is the second street on the left past the town hall." With the discourse markers *oh, well now, let me think, um*, and *er*, the speaker shows his mental processes of producing utterances and his intention to continue the turn in spite of brief pauses. While utterances can occur without discourse markers (Schiffrin, 1987), the speaker's intention may change slightly depending on whether or not the discourse markers are used.

Although the speaker may not intend to change the meaning of the utterance with discourse markers, it is indicative of functions of his or her social and mental processes. According to Schourup's (1983) view, these discourse markers have multiple functions and allow the speaker to show his or her mental processes in an appropriate manner:

> There is room within the tonus of a conversation for much private thought. We form overall judgments, plan provisional responses, rank and revise them, store questions, foresee the need for further conversations, and so on, and routinely do these things while someone else is talking, or while we ourselves hold the turn (p. 3).

Although the speaker's thoughts are not expressed fully, different forms of discourse markers help the speaker convey mental content to the listener. As defined by Schourup, the speaker's mind is involved in various mental activities, and discourse markers occur when the speaker is working on what to say next. Consequently, this process will allow the speaker to convey his or her thoughts indirectly.

Discourse Markers in Japanese

In several studies, Japanese discourse markers have been noted as playing a role in increasing the politeness of utterances. Japanese discourse markers have syntactic variations as in English; for example, *ano, sono, eeto, unto, nanka, tsumari, jitsuwa, sonodesunee,* and *nante iimasuka* are employed in different positions in utterances. They are also considered as hesitation or gap fillers. Number (3) shows how discourse markers can function as hesitation fillers.

(3) (Explaining the reason for not coming)
Jitsuwa . . . sonoo . . . hoka no yakusoku ga attan desu yo.
Jitsuwa . . . sonoo . . . I had another appointment.

In (3), the speaker displays his hesitancy to avoid the abrupt impression of his utterance explaining why he did not come. These discourse markers in the beginning of the utterance focuses on the speaker's hesitancy toward his speech, and therefore, the listener is able to perceive that the speaker attempts to produce utterances without knowing how to express them.

Sadanobu and Takubo (1995) investigated discourse markers *ano* and *eeto* with respect to a speaker's mental processes while producing utterances. According to these authors, *ano* functions to extract a speaker's linguistic information from a mental database where various information is stored, data is searched, or where calculations are conducted if necessary. In contrast, *eeto* shows that the speaker is temporarily working on producing utterances in the mental database. Sadanobu and Takubo's findings suggested that discourse markers are not always interchangeable in a context and reflect the speaker's thoughts while he is speaking. In the following examples, a discourse marker with a double question mark indicates inappropriate use.

(4) a: *Kono eiga no kantoku tte dare dakke?*
Who is the director of this movie?
b: *Anoo/Eeto, Kitano Takeshi.*
Anoo/Eeto, that's Kitano Takeshi.
(5) a: *Ni kakeru go wa?*
Two times five?
b: *Eeto/??Ano, jyuu.*
Eeto, it's ten.

Example (4) shows that both *anoo* and *eeto* are used in situationally appropriate ways. The speaker's use of *anoo* implies his mental process of extracting the linguistic information from his database, assuming that the name of the movie director has already been stored in the speaker's knowledge. Using *eeto,* the speaker shows his mental process of searching for the name of a movie director rather than finding the name of the movie director himself. Example (5) displays the appropriate use of *eeto* in this context because the speaker is not extracting linguistic information, and the answer for the multiplication is not stored in the speaker's resource. The discourse marker *anoo* is not situationally appropriate here. *Eeto* is appropriate because the speaker is not looking for the information that is not stored but is producing an answer after calculation.

The discourse markers *ano* and *eeto* also mark a different mental or social functions in requests. Consider the following contrast from Sadanobu and Takubo. Utterances with asterisks are considered impolite.

(6) a. *Anoo, mado o akete morae masu ka?*
Anoo, would you please open the window?
b. * *Mado o akete morae masu ka?*
Would you please open the window?
c. * *Eeto, mado o akete morae masu ka?*
Eeto, would you please open the window?

In (6a) the speaker reduces the abruptness of the speech by using *anoo* and shows his consideration of the style of speech he is engaged in to make a request. In considering the function of *ano* or *anoo* as indicative of extracting linguistic information from the mental database, the speaker uses the discourse marker appropriately, and in this view the expression to make a request is polite. On the other hand, the request in (6b) sounds too blunt to give a polite impression to the listener. Therefore, this request is viewed as impolite and situationally inappropriate. Furthermore, *eeto* is used neither appropriately nor politely in (6c), since the speaker is not temporarily working on producing an utterance in the context. In this instance it is unlikely that *eeto* occurs when the speaker makes a request. As discussed previously, Sadanobu and Takubo's study provides us examples to explain the speaker's mental processes when the speaker uses discourse markers *anoo* and *eeto* in various contexts.

The frequent use of discourse markers indicates the listener's involvement in conversation along with the speaker. Cook (1993) examined the discourse marker *ano* using naturally occurring conversation data and compared its social functions with the sentence final particle *ne*. The researcher suggested that the discourse markers *ano* and *ne* have a similar function because both markers index the interpersonal rapport between interlocutors. In Cook's conclusion, *ano* helps a speaker redress Brown and Levinson's (1987) face-threatening act through which the speaker interrupts a listener's "freedom of action" (p. 134) with orders, requests, or suggestions.

As explained earlier, discourse markers function in various ways, and it is likely that there are more functions in Japanese than in English, which allow the Japanese speaker to achieve a mutual understanding of the conversation with the listener. Appendix A displays a summary of functions of discourse markers in Japanese conversation. *Ano* has been examined in various contexts where it occurs as a discourse marker, yet researchers have not provided a better understanding of its sister discourse marker *sono*. To provide a coherent explanation of how discourse markers are used in conversation, I will analyze these linguistic devices in various contexts. In the following section of this paper I explore written discourse in which the discourse markers *ano* and *sono* occur individually or together.

ANALYSIS

To investigate uses of the discourse markers *ano* and *sono* in conversation, three volumes of fictional stories and one volume of a non-fictional story were examined. Obviously, conversation in written discourse does not represent natural speech, and what I refer to as an utterance in this study is the kind that is created or reproduced by the characters in it. For observation, stories offer theoretically natural data to discuss the discourse markers, since they are reproduced as naturally occurring conversations.

Uses of *Ano* in Discourse

In the data analyzed below there are cases where the discourse marker *ano* is used for a variety of purposes. A speaker produces *ano* before producing utterances and beginning a conversation, where the alignment between the speaker and the listener is established.

Consider Segment 1 below. The discourse marker *ano* is used with the sentence final particle *ne* to get a listener's attention and start a conversation (Cook, 1993). In line 2 Chiaki is talking about her future plans to her boss, Heizo, while he is drinking. Chiaki and Heizo seem to be attracted to each other.

Segment 1

1 *Sarani kanai zenbu ni ki o tukatte, junkatsuyu ni natte kurete iru yoona, kokoro kiita Chiaki ga oranaku naruto sureba, Heizoo wa nakitai omoi da.*

Heizo would cry if Chiaki—who is considerate to the employees and helps to reduce friction—left the company. Heizo should not think about it when he is drinking and feeling weak-spirited.

2 *"Ano ne, atashi wa, moshi, hokano kaisha e kawattara, apaato demo betsuni karite ie mo deyoo ka na, nante omou n desu..."*

(Chiaki said,) "Ano ne, I am thinking about moving out and looking for an apartment, if I change my job."

3 *Chiaki wa sake o heizo ni tsuide kurete, sonna koto o iu.*

Chiaki said this while serving a drink to Heizo.

(Tanabe, 1979, p. 339)

The initial *ano* with the sentence final particle *ne* can simply work as an attention-getter, through which Chiaki reveals her plan to Heizo who may not want her to carry it out. Additionally, when *ano* occurs in the beginning of the utterance, the abruptness of the utterance may be reduced. In this way, the speaker is able to initiate the listener's involvement with the conversation using *ano* and *ne*, even though the listener participates in the conversation without any comment in this context.

The speaker also uses *ano* with elongation before he talks about a topic that may be difficult to introduce. Consider Segment 2. Professor T. is using *ano* before he asks for a washbasin from Mr. Ishimatsu for his treatment of hemorrhoids:

Segment 2

1 *"Nan desu ka, T-sensei, mizukusai. Sonna toki no tame no watashi de wa arimasen ka. Ittai doo nasareta no desu ka?"*

(Mr. Ishimatsu said,) "What is it? You seem so formal, Prof T. That's what I'm here for. What's wrong with you?"

2 *Soo ii nagara mo watashi wa kokoro no soko de wa mushimushi, mushimushi to omotte iru no desu kara doo shiyoo mo arimasen.*

While I (Mr. Ishimatsu) was saying this, I could not bear feeling so frustrated.

3 *"Anoo, otaku ni senmenki wa naide shoo ka. Attara chotto kashite itadaki tai no desu ga."*

(Prof T. said,) "Anoo, do you have a washbasin? If so, could I borrow it?"

4 *"Senmenki! Senmenki nante nai desu nee, amerika jaa sonna mono tsukaimasen shi ne. Onabe nara arimasu keredo, dame desu ka? Demo, ittai doo nasareta no desu ka?"*

(Mr. Ishimatsu said,) "A washbasin? I don't have a washbasin. We don't use such a thing in America. I have a pot, though. Doesn't that work? What's wrong with you, by the way?"

5 *"Jitsuwa, Ishimatsu-san, biroona hanashi na no desu ga, watakushi ji na n desu."*

(Professor T. said,) "To tell you the truth, Mr. Ishimatsu, it is not a nice thing to mention, but I have been suffering from hemorrhoids."

(Ishimatsu, 1991, p. 111)

In line 3 Professor T.'s use of *ano* with an elongation suggests that he intends to continue his utterance but hesitates to explain his embarrassing experience. In line 5 Professor T. finally reveals to Mr. Ishimatsu that he suffers from hemorrhoids, and he does so very hesitantly. Using *ano*, Professor T. reduces the abruptness of the utterance so he can gradually introduce the topic that may be embarrassing to him. Borrowing a washbasin itself is not humiliating at all, but it seems more embarrassing for Professor T. to confess his medical problem to Mr. Ishimatsu in line 5. In this view, the discourse marker allows the speaker to moderate the introduction of the topic that he finds difficult to explain.

Consider Segment 3. Matakichi is talking by phone about the owner of a sport fishing store. The owner does not agree to become a witness of the accident in which the speaker and the listener were involved. The speaker uses *ano* before the conversation to reduce the abrupt impression of his speech:

Segment 3

1 *Suujitsu shite, yatto Matakichi-san kara denwa ga atta.*

A few days later, (Mr. Ishimatsu) finally received a call from Matakichi.

2 *"Ano, tsuridoogu-ya ni ittan desu keredo, shoonin ni wa natte kurenai n desu."*

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(Matakichi said,) "Ano, I went to the sport fishing store, but he does not want to become a witness."

3 *Tayorinai koe da.*

(Mr. Ishimatsu thought,) (Matakichi's) voice sounds dissatisfied.
(Ishimatsu, 1991, p. 73)

In line 2, the use of *ano* is indicative of the speaker's consideration to the listener, since he is talking about an event Matakichi and the listener did not expect. The speaker attempts to reduce the blunt impression of the utterance that may disappoint the listener. While Matakichi does not directly disagree with the listener, he talks about what is expected. This may imply that "when the speaker disagrees with the addressee, such a usage of *ano* simultaneously serves as a positive politeness strategy" (Cook, 1993, pp. 24-25). Thus, *ano* helps the speaker to mitigate the face-threatening act of disagreeing with the listener and to ensure cooperation.

As examined earlier, the discourse marker *ano* refers to the utterance that follows immediately, and from this point of view it is defined as a cataphoric marker. The focus of the discourse appears after *ano*, not before. It is the utterances that come after *ano* that are emphasized. In this way, the speaker can draw the listener's attention to the topic. If the discourse marker *ano* acts as a cataphoric marker, this explains why it frequently occurs at the beginning of utterances.

Uses of *Sono* in Discourse Markers

The discourse marker *sono* has different functions from the discourse marker *ano*. In this examination, *sono* is used before a speaker comments reluctantly on what the listener already knows, and he avoids repeating the utterance that the listener might know.

In Segment 4, Mr. Fukuda and other employees peeked into the female guests' room during a trip, and this is revealed to their boss Mr. Shibaoka. Fukuda uses the discourse marker *sono*, assuming that Mr. Shibaoka already knows what Mr. Fukuda wants to imply.

Segment 4

1 *Mattaku, (maido no koto de aru ga) wakai mono no yancha buri ni wa tekozura sareru.Shibaraku shite futari ga, Fukuda o tsurete kaette kita.*

Really, the young employees give me a lot of trouble, (Mr. Shibaoka thought). After a while, two employees came back with Mr. Fukuda.

2 *"Donai shiten, omae ga genkyoo ka."*

(Mr. Shibaoka said,) "Did you do something wrong? Are you a rascal?"

3 *"Iya, sono . . . . soo warui koto shite mahen."*

"No, sono . . . I haven't done such a bad thing," (Mr. Fukuda said).

4 *Fukuda mo yoi no mawatta kao o shite ita. Kerori to shite iru no de, katawara kara Yoshitani ga,*

(Mr. Shibaoka thought) Mr. Fukuda looked like he was getting drunk, too. Since (Mr. Fukuda) acted as if nothing had happened, Mr. Yoshitani who was standing by said,

5 *"Rinshitsu ga onna no ko bakkari no guruupu na n de, koitsura, teeburu ya isu tsunde, rinkan kara nozoite itotta n desu naa."*

(Mr. Yoshitani said,) "They were peeking into the next room—piling up the table and chairs—since there were only female guests in it."

6 *Bakana yatsura me.*

How stupid they were, (Mr. Shibaoka thought).
(Tanabe, 1979, p. 172)

In line 3, using *iya* (no), Mr. Fukuda's attitude seems ambiguous, and he neither agrees nor disagrees with Mr. Shibaoka's question in line 2. However, Mr. Fukuda obviously cannot respond to the question since he cannot overlook what he has done, which does not seem entirely bad. Mr. Fukuda's use of the discourse marker *sono* indicates that the previous utterance may have been understood by Mr. Shibaoka. Discourse markers commonly occur to show the speaker's hesitancy (Koide, 1983; Maynard, 1989; Mohan, 1979); a function that *ano* and *sono* often demonstrate. What differentiates these two discourse markers, however, is that *ano* occurs before a speaker provides new information, while *sono* occurs after the speaker comments on what has already been shared with the listener.

Sono occurs before a speaker makes an additional comment on what the listener said, as seen in the following example. The discourse marker *sono* functions to refer to the previous utterance and show that the following utterance is related to the previous one. In Segment 5, Akiko is talking with her friend Noriko about her boyfriend.

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Segment 5

1 *"[...]Soodan tte, tsumari, puropoozu sareta wake?" to Tange Noriko wa itta.*

"[...] What you want to say is, in a word, that you were proposed to?" Tange Noriko asked (Akiko).

2 *"Ee, puropoozu wa muron, sareta keredomo, sono, tsumari . . . nan te iu ka."*

(Akiko said,) "Yes, of course I was proposed to, but, sono, in short . . . (I do not know) what to say."

3 *Akiko wa hito ichibai hazukarigarina no ka, soretomo, mikeiken no hai-misu to iu no wa, wakai musume yori shuuchishin ga tsuyoi no ka, dooshitemo ware kara kuchi ni noboserare nai no de aru.*

Akiko cannot explain to Noriko, because Akiko might be shier than other people, or this sexually inexperienced lady might have a stronger sense of shame than younger adults.

4 *Akiko wa utsukushii kubi made, makka ni shite ita.*

Even Akiko's beautiful neck became red.

5 *"Hahan, wakatta, tsumari neyoo, tte sasowareteru wake . . ."*

(Noriko said,) "Well, I knew it; in short, you have been asked to sleep . . ."

(Tanabe, 1978, pp. 52-53)

In line 2 *sono* serves to share the previous utterance by both interlocutors. Noriko already knows what Akiko wants to say, and in this way, *sono* occurs before the speaker refers to the utterance that has been already discussed with the listener. Unlike the discourse marker *ano* that is used before the utterance, *sono* is used before the speaker adds a comment to what the listener already knows. In fact, Akiko does not answer Noriko's question in line 1, but Noriko answers it herself in line 5. The speaker agrees with Noriko's question, and it seems that Akiko wants to say more. This suggests that *sono* is used after the speaker had shared her thoughts beforehand with the listener, and that she wanted to make more comments that may have been difficult to explain.

Unlike *ano*, which is used as a cataphoric marker, the discourse marker *sono* occurs on the assumption that the topic of the conversation may have been already shared by interlocutors, and that the speaker needs to cautiously add comments to it. In this way, then, the discourse marker *sono* functions as an anaphoric marker. Thus, the focus of the utterance lies in the utterance that was produced before the discourse marker. Moreover, the frequent use of the discourse marker *sono* may explain why the speaker does not repeat the same utterance but replaces it with the discourse marker.

Uses of *Ano* and *Sono* in Discourse

As shown previously, speakers may use either *ano* or *sono* in conversation. The discourse marker *ano* is often used before producing an utterance that has not been completed successfully. *Sono* is used to refer to what has been implied after *ano,* and what the speaker believes the listener has understood.

In the following segment Mr. Urai is asked by his wife to share his bed with her, although he does not want to do it:

Segment 6

1 *"Kedo, washi wa . . ."*

"But, I . . ." (said Mr. Urai.)

2 *"Soko ga hassoo no tenkan yo, sore ga daini no jinsei yanka, daburu beddo nante, wakai toki mo tsukawana n da wa, ippen yatte mitakatta n da, omochiro."*

"You have to change your way of thinking. That's what the Golden Age is. I never used a double bed when I was young. I wanted to use it once. I thought it would be interesting" (said his wife).

3 *"Ano na, ..."*

"Ano na . . ."

4 *"Wakatteru wa, kata ga samui,tte iu n de sho, fuyu ja nai shi, daijoobu yo, kaze nanka hikanai tte."*

"I know that you think your shoulder will get cold. It will be all right, because it is not winter now. You won't get cold, you know."

5 *"Iya . . . ."*

"No...."

6 *"A, semakutte kata ga koru, tte iu no, atashi chiisai kara jama ni naranai, naranai, buhahaha, daburu beddo da zoo."*

"Oh, you think that you will have a stiff shoulder because you have less space. I won't disturb you, because I am small. Ha-ha, you know, it is a double bed."

7 *"Mumu, sono . . . . ."*

"Mmm, sono...."

8 *"Iya da, hanikande ru, wahaha, iyoiyo omochiroi. Waai, otoosan to daburu beddo ni neru n da, n da, n da, zama miro."*

"Well, you seem shy. Ha-ha, it is going to be more comical. Wow, I am going to sleep with you in the double bed, so there!"

(Tanabe, 1998, pp. 164-165)

In this excerpt we see that Mr. Urai shows his unwillingness to sleep in the same bed as his wife. In line 3 Mr. Urai's use of *ano* with the sentence final particle *na* indicates his desire to avoid a blunt explanation of why he does not want to share a bed and also his consideration of the listener's feelings. Thus, he begins a new turn in the conversation. This attempt is unsuccessful, though, and Mr. Urai is interrupted by his wife. While Mr. Urai seems to be afraid to hurt his wife's feelings in line 5, in line 7 he uses the discourse marker *sono* to indicate that he expects her to understand how he feels about sleeping with her in his bed without fully explaining it. This suggests that a speaker may say something important after *ano* and before *sono,* and the referent that he or she points to may be identical while it is not clearly mentioned in the context.

Ano occurs before the speaker begins to produce an important utterance, and he uses *sono* after briefly explaining to the listener, highlighting the utterance that follows immediately. Consider Segment 7. Mr. Aoi is revealing his secret to his female co-worker Ms. Asahara that he has loved her since she began to work at the company, and this surprises her.

Segment 7

1 *"Boku wa, ano . . . . ."*

(Mr. Aoi said,) "I, ano...."

2 *Aoi no goi wa itsumo " . . ." ga tsuku tokoro ni tokuchoo ga aru. Kokoro bosoi ga yuu o furu tte iu, to iu kanji de.*

Aoi's (sentence) ending is always characterized as "...." (It is) as if he feels helpless but picks up his courage.

3 *"Asahara-san ga, eigyoo ni itte kara zuutto shitte mashi ten . . ."*

(Mr. Aoi continued,) "I have known you, Asahara-san, since (you) came to the sales department."

4 *"Ee, datte atashi, nyuusha irai, eigyoo da yo."*

(Ms. Asahara said,) "Oh, because I have been in the sales department since (I) entered the company."

5 *"Tsumari sono . . ." to madarukkoshii.*

"In short, sono . . ." (Mr. Aoi) said slowly.

6 *"Nyuusha irai, Asahara-san no koto kanshin arimashite . . ."*

(He continued,) "(I) have been interested in you, Asahara-san, since (you) entered the company."

(Tanabe, 1998, pp. 97-98)

In line 1, while Mr. Aoi prepares to reveal his feelings to Ms. Asahara, but he is unable to complete his utterance because of his hesitation to say something more to her. It is likely that the discourse marker *ano* shows that the speaker is telling something important to the listener, and it helps Mr. Aoi shift Ms. Asahara's attention to his next utterance. Additionally, *ano* serves to avoid the speaker's abrupt impression to the listener and expresses his considerate attitude toward the listener (Sadanobu & Takubo, 1995). In line 5, Mr. Aoi attempts to sum up his speech by saying *tsumari* "in short," and he shows his hesitancy to continue the next utterance, using *sono* with elongation. In this way, *sono* partially serves to show the speaker's continuing turn in this context. What is important is that Mr. Aoi refers to the utterances mentioned in lines 3 and 4 through which Mr. Aoi tells her that he has known her for a long period of time. While the speaker's attempt has been slightly achieved after the utterance in line 3, he wants to add his comment to what she has said in line 4. In this example, the discourse marker *ano* occurs before the speaker begins to produce the important utterance and uses *sono* after briefly explaining it to the listener and highlighting the utterance that immediately follows.

We see that discourse markers *ano* and *sono* appear according to their respective functions; the speaker first uses the discourse marker *ano*, and afterwards *sono* is used in utterances. The speaker attempts to talk to the listener after using *ano*, but for some reason, the utterance cannot be completed. Thus, the speaker refers to utterances that are understood by interlocutors using *sono*, whereas he employs *ano* to produce the utterance that is not successfully completed.

Ano and *Sono* in Written Dialogue

I have suggested that *ano* is a cataphoric marker and that *sono* is an anaphoric marker when they are used as discourse markers. From this point of view, these discourse markers are not interchangeable. *Ano* indexes what immediately follows in the utterance, implying that the speaker uses it before producing the utterance. In my data the types of utterances that follow are different, and it is considered that in this way the speaker mitigates an utterance that implies a face-threatening act (Brown & Levinson, 1987). As Goffman (1974) points out, it is important for the speaker to use discourse markers in the initial position of the utterance before producing the utterance.

The discourse marker *sono* may point to what has been mentioned in the context and play a role as an anaphoric marker. Using *sono,* the speaker refers to what has been already described and comments on it. As one of the characteristics of the discourse marker *sono,* the speaker does not clearly indicate what has been referred to in the context of the statement. Nevertheless, the speaker continues to speak, assuming that the topic may have been already discussed with the listener. Unlike the discourse marker *ano, sono* commonly occurs before the speaker explains something to the listener. Also, using *sono,* utterances that might be unnecessary are left out by the speaker, but *ano* requires the utterance which follows it and does not function without it. In Japanese, both *ano* and *sono* serve as discourse markers. However, the two words function differently in conversation, and the positions in which they occur are different. Due to the nature of the discourse markers, speakers cannot use them interchangeably.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have shown that the discourse markers *sono* and *ano* play an important role in focusing an utterance in Japanese conversation, particularly where the speaker and the listener attempt to meet certain social expectations. Using the cataphoric marker *ano,* the speaker produces an utterance that may interrupt the listener but effectively avoids making the listener feel interrupted. In this way, the speaker is able to elicit the listener's involvement in the conversation. On the other hand, the anaphoric marker *sono* is a linguistic device by which the speaker does not directly produce the point of the utterance but provides a clue that the listener may understand. For this reason, the Japanese speaker may expect that the topic of the conversation has been shared by both interlocutors, and that the listener is considered to be part of a previous or ongoing conversation.

Since the data analyzed in this paper were extracted only from fiction and non-fiction stories, the discourse markers have been used in distinct contexts.

However, the data show that the discourse markers *ano* and *sono* cannot be used interchangeably because of their functions and their positions in the utterances, just as demonstrative adjectives *ano* and *sono* are used for different purposes. In this study, it was impossible to ascertain the correlation of functions between these discourse markers and the demonstrative adjectives.

For further research, data from naturally occurring conversation should be collected and examined for the use and function of these discourse markers. Furthermore, it is possible to speculate that native speakers of Japanese might have some prototypical co-occurring contextual features with respect to *ano* and *sono* as discourse markers. Since it is difficult for many second/foreign language learners of Japanese to use discourse markers appropriately, it might be beneficial for them to have a better understanding of the correct usage of discourse markers in order to communicate successfully with native Japanese speakers.

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Appendix A

Functions of Discourse Markers in Japanese

Cook (1993) All functions are for *ano*

- align a speaker and a listener in face-to-face interaction
- start a conversation or a new turn
- get the attention of the listener
- highlight a proposition that immediately follows
- start a new topic
- disagree with others

Koide (1983)

- increase the politeness of one's speech
- avoid silence that may give the listener mental pressure
- show a speaker's intention to keep the floor and continue one's turn
- show a speaker's hesitancy

Maynard (1989)

- make utterances softer and have less impact
- avoid silence and carry on the verbal interaction (socially motivated fillers)
- show hesitancy and uncertainty
- interrupt the speech cognitively or productively (language production-based fillers)
- achieve the effect of socially packaging one's speech

Sadanobu and Takubo (1995)

- make the listener project what follows
- continue interface with the listener
- *eeto*: work temporarily on producing utterances in the mental database
- *ano*: avoid the abrupt and impertinent impressions of speech
- *ano:* extract linguistic information from the mental database, where various information is stored, data are searched, and calculations are conducted

Cross Cultural Varieties of Politeness

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The treatment of politeness features is particularly revealing of the complex dynamics that we as language teachers face given the cultural variety present in our schools and colleges. Along with its positive contributions to the learning environment, the growing diversity of the students in our classrooms can and does pose a significant challenge for both students and educators. To extend the discussion of this important topic, we have attempted in this study to explore the culturally based variations of a particular speech act the compliment. A review of current literature on the subject among the speakers of five different languages (American English, Chinese, Japanese, Egyptian Arabic, and Spanish) illustrates contrasting patterns of discourse. Our review indicates that if communicative competence is a learning objective, the language curriculum needs to include direct treatment of such sociolinguistic features. We have put forward some suggested practical approaches for implementing this objective in day-to-day classroom instructional activities. Our hope here is to stimulate a deeper examination and appreciation of the rich diversity of our cultural inheritance and to develop creative applications that explore this diversity in the 21st century classroom.

INTRODUCTION

While the increasing diversity of the modern classroom poses special challenges for students and educators generally, this is especially the case in higher educational settings such as current ESL, LSP and other classrooms where people from different countries and social classes come together to form a learning community. In such settings, the goal of communicative competence suggests that language teachers need to help students comprehend the implicit cultural differences distinguishing their own experience from that which is embodied within the speech acts of speakers of a target language. Assuming we accept that as a goal, how exactly are teachers to construct activities that facilitate an understanding of the underlying implications of subtle pragmatic features, such as politeness?

We can begin to answer that question by exploring the role of the cultural context of politeness features. The variety of ways we express politeness and respond to speech acts featuring politeness are determined by underlying, cultural-based assumptions about what it means to be polite. The illocutionary force behind a particular polite utterance, a compliment for example, might differ completely from one culture to another. Socio-pragmatic failure can occur as a result of the learner's miscalculations regarding social distance, his or her relative rights and obligations, and the size of an imposition carried by an utterance (Thomas, 1983).

In light of sociolinguistic studies illustrating significant differences in politeness features, some analysts have attempted to establish a theoretical framework to assist in comparing and contrasting politeness features across cultures.

THEORIES OF POLITENESS

One of the leading theories of politeness was developed by Brown and Levinson (1987), who argue that there are two forms of politeness: positive politeness and negative politeness. Positive politeness strategies are attempts by a speaker to treat the listener as a friend or as someone to be included in discourse. For an American speaker, giving a friend or co-worker the compliment, "Your hair looks nice today," would be one example of positive politeness. Negative politeness, on the other hand, is an attempt by the speaker to save the listener's face by engaging in some formality or restraint. For an American speaker, an example of negative politeness would be responding to the question, "Do you like my new haircut?" with, "It looks great," even though the speaker's true opinion is that the haircut looks horrible.

Leech (1983) sees cultural rules at work in expressions of politeness and attempts to categorize in more detail some of the underlying intent behind these forms by articulating a set of rules or Politeness Maxims at work in polite dialogue.

1) Tact maxim: minimize cost and maximize benefit to other.
2) Generosity maxim: minimize benefit and maximize cost to self.
3) Approbation maxim: minimize dispraise and maximize praise of other.
4) Modesty maxim: minimize praise and maximize dispraise of self.
5) Agreement maxim: minimize disagreement and maximize agreement between self and other.
6) Sympathy maxim: minimize antipathy and maximize sympathy between self and other.

While these maxims do not seem to contradict each other in principle, failure to recognize these maxims as they are expressed in particular utterances can lead to what Thomas (1983) calls "cross-cultural pragmatic failure" (p. 92). Thomas indicates that pragmatic failure can occur at two levels: failure to understand which proposition the speaker has expressed and failure to understand the pragmatic force of the speaker's utterance. The potential of pragmatic failure is apparent when reviewing specific contrastive examples of politeness features across cultures. A few illustrations are detailed below.

FIVE NATION ASSESSMENT

Speakers of Egyptian Arabic and Speakers of American English

Nelson, Bakary, and Batal (1993) report that for Egyptians compliments function to contribute to interpersonal or group solidarity. They also find differences between Egyptian speakers and American English speakers in that Egyptians, compared with Americans, frequently express compliments regarding natural appearances and personal traits; who the person *is*, and not what they *do*. Also, Egyptians do not offer compliments as frequently as do Americans. Nelson et al. suggest that this may be in part due to the Arab belief in the "evil eye," or the potential for compliments to bring bad luck. Egyptians use a large number of similes, metaphors, and preceding ritualized phrases such as "Eeh l-Halaawa di!" (What is all this beauty!). In addition, Nelson et al. suggest that Egyptians prefer a direct approach to giving compliments while they exercise indirect approaches for negative feelings as a mature way to save face.

Speakers of Spanish

According to Moore (1996), *piropos* are a type of compliment used by Spanish speakers in the form of a "spontaneous outburst of poetic rhymes" (p. 116) and are considered as a form of verbal artistry. These complimentary remarks, rooted in the customs and tradition of courtly love, are widely accepted in Hispanic society where the attribute of womanliness is highly valued. Some of the examples of *piropos* provided in Moore's paper (1996) are shown below.

Table 1 Examples of Piropos

Spanish Form: (Direct Translation:) *Cultural Meaning:*	¡Vaya usted con Dios y su hija conmigo! (May you go with God and your daughter with me!) *You have a beautiful daughter.*
Spanish Form: (Direct Translation:) *Cultural Meaning:*	¡Dios mío! Tantas curvas y yo sin freno! (My God! So many curves, and me without brakes!) *You are sexy.*
Spanish Form: (Direct Translation:) *Cultural Meaning:*	Dejaran el cielo abierto y se voló un angelito. (Heaven was left open, and out flew an angel.) *You are beautiful.*

Moore (1996) Cultural meaning added.

Despite the probable interpretations from an American point of view that piropos are sexist, an interpretation that may be further fed by the fact that piropos are usually initiated by a young male to a young female, many native Spanish speakers esteem piropos as an art form and do not find them explicitly sexist or as sexual in nature as they might seem. One Spanish speaker consulted in this regard pointed out that the phrase, "¡Vaya usted con Dios y su hija conmigo!" "(May you) go with God, and your daughter (go) with me" may be uttered [illegible] little child (Morales, 2000, personal communication). In that context, the statement is no more an invitation to sex than the American English expression to a child "he's so cute I could just eat him up" is a display of cannibalistic tendencies.

These examples suggest that what one culture defines as sexism may or may not be so described in another. It is evident that further cultural and anthropological analysis is required and an appropriate explanation of the background of such compliments is needed for Spanish language learners.

Speakers of Chinese and American English

Chen (1993) brings a focus on Chinese and American subjects to her study of politeness. She found Brown and Levinson's theory to be insufficient for explaining certain findings in her research and argued that in Brown and Levinson's theory individuals always respond to compliments by accepting them since the compliment is a form of positive politeness and failing to accept threatens the complimenter's positive face. However, both American and Chinese speakers were found to engage in deflection responses (e.g. "Did I really do that well?"), and Chinese speakers frequently responded to compliments with rejection followed by self-denigration. Given certain difficulties analyzing these actions according to Brown and Levinson's theory, Chen proposes instead the use of Leech's Politeness Maxim, as described previously. The summary from her findings is as follows.

Differences in American English Speakers (AESs) and Chinese Speakers (CSs):

	American	Chinese
Accepting the Compliment	Yes (39.3%)	Yes (1.0%)
Returning the Compliment	Yes (18.5%)	No
Thanking and Denigrating	No	Yes (3.4%)
Deflecting	Yes (29.5%)	No
Rejecting the Compliment	Yes (12.7%)	Yes (95.7%)

It was found that the AESs are primarily motivated by Leech's Agreement Maxim (compliment acceptance) while the CSs are motivated by his Modesty Maxim (compliment rejection and self-denigration). This difference appears to be related to differences of social values between the two cultures, particularly in their respective beliefs regarding what constitutes self-image.

Speakers of Japanese and American English

Just as speakers of Chinese indicate the use of self-denigration, according to Daikuhara (1986) speakers of Japanese (JS) exhibit a similar pattern in their employment of compliments and responses to compliments. In her study, JSs used compliments in pursuing a communicative strategy of politeness achieved by downgrading oneself or comparing oneself negatively, a negative politeness approach that also created distance (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Daikuhara also found some similarity between JSs and AESs in terms of the primary function of compliments: to generate harmony or solidarity. The Japanese tend to compliment both appearances as well as abilities, which is also the case among Americans. In addition, they indicate formal attributions such as the status of schooling. The response to compliments, on the other hand, differed greatly between these two groups. Of the responses, 95% were "self - praise avoidance" and only 5% showed appreciation, while "thank you" was the most frequent response among Americans. These results are consistent with Chen's study among CEs. Daikuhara also found that JSs very seldom compliment their own family, while this was not the case among Americans. This also might be another indication of the function of downgrading oneself, since in Japan the family is often considered to be a part of one's self.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TODAY'S CLASSROOM

A contemporary language classroom can easily consist of a group of students with communicative approaches as diverse as all of those just described. This potential underlines the need for classroom strategies that address the goals of communicative as well as linguistic competence.

Efforts to facilitate the development of communicative competence have attracted significant attention in educational linguistic research since the 1970s (see Savignon, 1972, 1983 for a review). However, practical applications based on the findings of these studies are made particularly difficult by the challenge of weaving a focus on social and cultural aspects of language learning into the traditional language classroom. For practitioners, the significance of teaching sociolinguistic elements of language is often overshadowed by the demands of teaching linguistic features. Scarcella (1979) found that both higher and lower proficiency learners of English are limited in their use of politeness features in the target language. It takes great care and sensitivity to implement socio-pragmatic objectives in language learning especially given a constantly changing society.

How, then, can practitioners implement such learning objectives as is illustrated by the specific example of the treatment of politeness features? According to Thomas (1983), pragmatic information cannot be absorbed simply by being immersed in the culture. Billmyer (1990) concurred with Thomas on this point and provided the first systematic study of, "the application of sociolinguistic instruction in a classroom setting tested in the analysis of learners' conversations in a social context" (p. 50). Her findings indicate that a greater number of compliments were given by learners in a specially instructed group than by learners who did not receive the instruction.

Such findings indicate that teachers play a significant role in implementing the use of compliments in the target culture. The task of bringing such pragmatic features to the learners' attention rests on the shoulders of each educator. Moore (1996) makes this point decisively, indicating that "teachers must be trained not only as language teachers but as culture teachers" (p. 119). Specifically, Moore suggests that teacher education include sociolinguistic and anthropological linguistic methods of research.

During this study we developed two possible methods for fostering cultural awareness and communication competence regarding politeness features. In the first, a dialogue is constructed between two teachers or one teacher and a student who is a fluent speaker of the target language. The dialogue can be turned into a comparison of Japanese and American statements and an examination of the stream of consciousness in the discourse of giving and replying to compliments. Each of two speakers exchange their compliments and responses, with each utterance followed by the speaker turning to the students and stating the pragmatic intent or the understood meaning of the response as appropriate. This approach could be used with other languages as well. An example of such a demonstration is detailed in Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2 Compliment from an American speaker to a Japanese speaker

Speaker	Utterance	Speaker's Intended Pragmatic Meaning	Possible Meaning as Understood by Hearer
American	Your child is one smart girl.	Your child is one smart girl.	She thinks her child is not smart.
Japanese	Oh, no, she is not.	She might be but it is not good to praise too much my own child.	

Table 3 Compliments from a Japanese speaker to an American speaker

Speaker	Utterance	Speaker's Intended Pragmatic Meaning	Possible Meaning as Understood By Hearer
Japanese	Your presentation last week was spectacular.	Your presentation last week was spectacular.	This person is full of herself.
American	Why, thank you.	I don't really believe this, but it's not polite to argue with her.	

Such a demonstration is one technique for drawing the attention of students to potential pragmatic failure.

A second approach is the 'down the garden path treatment' (Tomasello & Herron, 1988, 1989), a method in which errors are explicitly induced. Tomasello and Herron provided evidence in their study illustrating that the induction and formal correction of problematic features leads to "cognitive comparison" and results in favorable production among students. In this case, we suggest that the teacher give students examples of specific statements or expressions that the teacher can predict will be incorrectly interpreted. The teacher allows students to react to the statement, then explains what the utterance means to speakers of the target language.

After the demonstration, specific explanations and the instructions on norms in the target culture would be recommended. Our suggestion is to implement some task- based instruction such as group work or dyads giving and responding to compliments in settings of the target culture. Another approach involves students in a pseudo-dictogloss exercise (e.g. students read or listen a paragraph of giving and responding to compliments). Students are asked to write down the pragmatic implications of the discourse in a paragraph. Finally, they are partnered with another student to discuss the findings.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Our hope here is to stimulate a deeper examination and appreciation of the rich diversity of the cultures present in today's educational environment. Our future tasks as practitioners include exploring creative implementations of the previously described classroom objectives and the encoding of step-by-step progress (if recognized) among students. An important aspect of the research yet to be completed is to evaluate the outcomes of the appropriate socio-pragmatic features after instruction and exercises have been applied in the classroom.

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Sessions will be 30 minutes long – 20 minutes for the presentation and an additional 10 minutes for discussion and questions.

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